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PESTALOZZI'S EDUCATIONAL WRITINGS

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EDUCATIONAL CLASSICS

General Editor: Prof. J. W. ADAMSON

PESTALOZZI'S EDUCATIONAL WRITINGS

EDITED BY

J. A. GREEN, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

FRANCES A. COLLIE, M.A.

SECOND IMPRESSION

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GENERAL PREFACE

THE belief which inspires the editors of the volumes included in this series is one which should find a ready adherence from all who accept the doctrine of development. That belief may be summed up in the assertion that the present is both the child of the past and the parent of the future. Hence the high value of all forms of historical study. The educational theory and practice of a community are not things which arise *e nihilo*; they are the result of the thoughts, activities, conditions, and circumstances, which constituted the community's past life, especially as these were more directly related to the upbringing of the young. This is so far true that an intelligent and effective comprehension of any existing educational system can only be attained when its antecedent conditions are known and appreciated.

Educational history furnishes a key to the understanding of many of the problems of aim, administration, organization, and method, which confront the student to-day. It will also help him to assume a just attitude towards the future, dispose him to avoid routine, to beware of prejudice, and to keep an open mind with

reference to suggested change. History is the true prophylactic against the fogeydom which besets the school-master, the committeeman, and the official.

The influence exerted by the lives or writings of individual thinkers is one of many factors of the protracted development of education. But many have written, and written well, on education, whose effect upon practice has been negligible. The aim of the present series is to present only such authors as have shaped subsequent educational history, or who at least have depicted with authority the educational ideals and practice of their own time.

Many German thinkers hold that the educational system of their country fails because it takes insufficient account of personality and of the duty of social service ; they are turning to Pestalozzi for aid in attaining these ideals. The latest Swiss educational reformers are only trying to adapt Pestalozzi's counsels to the new conditions of to-day. A writer who thus retains vital heat over a century, so full of change as the last, has an unquestionable right to a place in such a series as the present.

J. W. A.

PREFACE

THE problem of making a representative selection from Pestalozzi's voluminous writings presents considerable difficulty. Only one of his books has hitherto been completely translated into English, *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*. Selected portions of his romance, *Leonard and Gertrude*, have appeared in book form, but, for the rest, we have only had such selections as his various biographers, in particular Biber and de Guimps, have incorporated into their work.

I have tried, in the present case, to bring together those parts of his writings which show the essentials of Pestalozzian doctrine, and which exhibit the broad movements of his mind from the vague but germinal *Evening Hours of a Hermit* to the preciser discussions of great educational problems in the *Swansong*. The *Diary*, the *Stanz Letter*, and the *Report to Parents*, which deal with Pestalozzi's actual educational practice, have been omitted. They will, however, be found complete in my *Life and Work of Pestalozzi* (Clive and Co.).

With certain exceptions (the *Letters to Greaves*, of which the original text has never been published and is probably lost, chapter xxxi. of *Leonard and Gertrude*, and the

chapter from *Christopher and Elizabeth*) the translations are new. Only those who have tried to put Pestalozzi's clumsy German into readable English can realize the difficulty of the task, and whilst it is hoped that the author's meaning has been faithfully rendered, it has often been necessary to clear up his paragraphs by shortening them. Actual omissions are indicated thus (...) or by a note in the text.

The titles of the letters in *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*, in the *Views and Experiences*, and in the Greaves series, and the headings of sections throughout the book, are introduced to facilitate cross reference. Where paragraphs are numbered, they follow the numbers in Mann's *Pestalozzi's Ausgewählte Werke*.

Whilst the responsibility for the selection and editing has rested entirely with me, the work could not have been done in the midst of other duties without the invaluable assistance of my old pupil and former colleague, Miss F. A. Collie, in the labour of translation. My indebtedness to various Swiss and German editors of Pestalozzi, and in particular to Seyffarth, Mann, and Hunziker, will be obvious to all who know the literature.

J. A. GREEN.

THE UNIVERSITY,
SHEFFIELD.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER							PAGE
GENERAL PREFACE	-	-	-	-	-	-	v
PREFACE	-	-	-	-	-	-	vii
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	-	-	-	-	-	-	x
INTRODUCTION	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
I. EARLY WRITINGS	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
II. HOW GERTRUDE TEACHES HER CHILDREN	-	-	-	-	-	-	85
III. VIEWS AND EXPERIENCES	-	-	-	-	-	-	155
IV. ADDRESS TO MY HOUSE, 1818	-	-	-	-	-	-	187
V. LETTERS TO GREAVES	-	-	-	-	-	-	211
VI. THE SWANSONG	-	-	-	-	-	-	267
INDEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	828

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1746 Born at Zurich.

1751-1765. At school and college in his native town.

1762. Rousseau's *Emile* published.

1765. His first journalistic efforts appeared in a weekly newspaper, *Der Erinnerer*, devoted to social and literary subjects.

1769. Went to learn farming in the Emmenthal.

1769. Married Anna Schulthess; settled at Neuhof.

1774. The fragments of his diary referring to the education of his son belong to this year.

1774-1779. Industrial School at Neuhof.

1780. Wrote the *Evening Hours of a Hermit*.

1781. Wrote *Leonard and Gertrude* (vol. i.). Succeeding volumes appeared in 1783, 1785, and 1787.

1782. Conducted a newspaper—*Ein Schweizer-Blatt*.

1797. Published *Enquiries Concerning the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race*.

1798. Took charge of orphanage at Stanz at the request of the Government.

1799-1804. Schoolmaster at Burgdorf. Worked at the problem of Method in Teaching. Published *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*, and inspired the A B C books.

1804-05. Short-lived project of school at Münchenbuchsee. Wrote *Views and Experiences*.

1805. Settled at Yverdun. School there won European reputation.

1807-1810. A weekly journal, *Wochenschrift für Menschenbildung*, was issued from the school. In it appeared the letter describing Pestalozzi's work at Stanz, and the *Report to Parents*.

1819. School for poor children opened at Clendy, but united with that of Yverdun the next year.

1825. After some years of struggle against internal discord, the school at Yverdun was given up.

1826. The *Swansong* and the *Life's Destiny* published as one book.

1827. Pestalozzi died.

REFERENCES IN THE TEXT

M = Mann's *Pestalozzi's Ausgewählte Werke*. 4 Bde.

S = Seyffarth's *Pestalozzi's Sämtliche Werke*. 12 Bde.
(Edition, 1899.)

G = Green's *Life and Work of Pestalozzi*. (Clive and Co.) 1912.

PESTALOZZI'S EDUCATIONAL WRITINGS

INTRODUCTION

PESTALOZZI may fairly be regarded as the starting-point of modern educational theory and practice. Although he had not freed himself from the faculty psychology that was current in his day, and although his practical efforts at school-work were not as clear of the error of mere words as he tried to make them, yet it was from him that twentieth-century schoolmasters have directly or indirectly learned that the problem of education is that of an undivided soul developing spontaneously in contact with the issues of life. (He taught us that life is the great educator, and that our chief business is to learn the secret of life's method, and apply it to the problems of the classroom.)

We shall, however, best understand his position if we consider briefly that of those educational reformers to whom he is most nearly related—Comenius, Francke, Rousseau, and Basedow.

Whether Pestalozzi was more than superficially acquainted with the doctrines of Comenius is doubtful, yet the pedagogy and the career of the two men have many points in common. Both men were in advance of their time; both men were for a long time neglected or forgotten. But whilst Comenius is mainly concerned with externals, Pestalozzi strove to reach the deeper places of the human soul. Both men were especially

interested in the education of a small people. For the Bohemians, Comenius outlined an educational organization, and a scientifically ordered doctrine which has become a classic. Pestalozzi had a less well-organized mind than Comenius. He was stirred by the degraded condition of the Swiss poor, and saw the only hope of the future in their moral elevation. This was for all time the ultimate object of popular education, and he discussed, not external machinery, but the spiritual conditions on the basis of which the problem could be solved. Comenius says many beautiful things about moral education, but his interest lay chiefly in the Baconian revolt against verbalism. Hence his *Orbis Pictus*, his demand that the study of the mother-tongue should precede that of Latin, and his call for examples before rules. His principles of method are, however, not based upon the nature of men, but upon citations from the Bible or upon analogy with external Nature.

"Comenius' title to fame rests on the discovery, application, and embodiment in a large-minded treatise on *Didactic*, of the fundamental principles—

- " 1. That all instructions must be carefully graded.
- " 2. That, in imparting knowledge to children, the teacher must, to the utmost, appeal to the faculties of sense-perception."

So Mr. Keatinge writes in his scholarly edition of the *Great Didactic*, and so far it is true to say that Comenius anticipated Pestalozzi; but, as we shall see, Pestalozzi had a sounder grip of both principles, and his claim to fame must be put on much higher ground, in spite of the "ineptitude" with which he often expressed his ideas.

But Comenius' educational ideas were in effect a dead letter almost as soon as they were written. The main current of education both in England and abroad continued along the old lines of a decadent humanism, although the eighteenth century witnessed a gallant fight for classical studies in Germany, thanks especially to the labours and enthusiasm of J. M. Gesner (1691-1761).

and E. A. Wolf (1759-1824). The waning interest in classical studies had, however, been helped on by the work and influence of the Pietists. Their pedagogical leader, Heinrich Francke (1668-1727), was chiefly interested in religious education, not in the formal sense of the stricter Lutherans, for whom "learning the catechism" was the chief end of school life, but in a deeper spiritual sense which brings him into close relation with Pestalozzi. But how differently it worked in practice will be best understood by comparing the following account of the discipline of Francke's Institution in Halle with the spirit and practice of Pestalozzi:¹

"Many complaints were made of the offensive names which the teachers hurled at their pupils: Oxen, Donkeys, Fools, Calves, Beasts, Ruffians. Sticks, canes, and whips, were often used on their bared person in full view of the school. To make the punishment worse, the teachers would use the butt end of their whips, and strike them on their shoulders, arms, and heads, in such a way that lumps, and often sores, resulted: they used to seize the lads by the hair and strike them with their fists in their faces, making nose and mouth bleed profusely. They were ordered not to allow the consolation of loud crying; and in order to prevent scandal, punishments in the rooms which faced the street were expressly forbidden; nor was it allowed to punish the children when strangers were being shown over the school. It was a rule that the teacher must not have the cane in his hand when visitors were in the room. It must be put away, that it might not be seen, and the children were not to be spoken to harshly."

How different all this from the discipline at Stanz and Yverdun! It was not that Pestalozzi disapproved of corporal punishment, but he insisted that it should leave no sense of injustice behind. It must be given in love. The punishments of parents do not usually create ill-will, neither did his. "How pleased my children were

¹ Quoted by Seyffarth from a report by Dr. Eckstein (V. S., vol. i., p. 21).

when I offered them my hand a moment after I had been obliged to whip them!"¹

In another respect Francke and his followers approached, at least externally, the pedagogical position of Pestalozzi. They revived and gave new meaning to the old idea, *Non scholæ, sed vitae discendum*, and Christopher Semler, a colleague of Francke's at Halle, gave it form by organizing what he called a *Realschule*, in which Latin was not taught, but emphasis was laid on mathematics, geography, science, agriculture, and the like. Twice he started such a school (1708 and 1738), but each time it only lasted two years; this was due the second time to Semler's death. The idea was not dead, however, and more successful efforts to give it practical shape were made in Berlin in 1747 by pupils of Francke and by others. It is therefore not without justification that the Pietists are usually credited with starting a movement out of which the so-called "modern school" has sprung. It was Semler who first used the term *Realschule*; but the resemblance to Pestalozzi does not go below the surface. There is all the difference in the world between the principle *Life educates* and that which insists upon the school curriculum being determined by the needs of the future. Of course Pestalozzi said that the school must take into account the probable future of the child, but for him it is the life the child is living now—what he feels, what he does in the light of what he knows, what he seeks to know in order that he may do—it is these things that are educative. Yet "the poor must be trained to poverty," and to surround them with an establishment in which everything is done for them is a profound educational blunder.²

Any resemblances which we may discover between Pestalozzi and his predecessors are for the most part accidental. It is not very likely that he had read the

¹ Cf. Pestalozzi's letter on his work at Stanz, G., pp. 77-8^o.

² V. his letter on the *Education of the Children of the Poor*; G.: pp. 286 f.; cf. also *Swansong*, pp. 320-1; and his *Address of 1818*, pp. 199 f. in this book.

Great Didactic or that he was acquainted with the educational ideas of the Pietists. This cannot, however, be said of Pestalozzi's relations with Rousseau. He tells in the *Swansong*¹ of the effect which Rousseau's writings had upon the students of Zurich and upon himself. His political and educational outlook was profoundly and permanently affected by them. His earliest educational activity and his comments thereon² are constantly reminiscent of the *Emile*. There we find him enlarging upon the dangerous familiarity with "words," which are implicit judgments, and therefore often premature. Jacquelis is to gain ideas through actions; he is to keep his eyes and ears open, but to keep his mouth closed; he is to discover all he can; his teacher is to remember that Nature is the best teacher. He should take the child to Nature, and leave him there, free as possible. All this is Rousseau pure and simple, but even in those early pedagogic efforts Pestalozzi showed his independence of mind. He made experiments of his own (e.g., teaching his four-year-old boy Latin by the "direct" method), and he deliberately abandoned Rousseau on the question of children's obedience. Rousseau would abolish such words as "command," "duties," and "obedience," from the child's vocabulary. Pestalozzi saw that freedom and obedience were essential to childish experience. He would unite what Rousseau had separated.

But Rousseau's influence upon Pestalozzi was not exhausted in this practical effort. Throughout his writings we hear the echo of Rousseau's "natural man." "The way of Nature," "the book of Nature," "the natural man," are characteristically Pestalozzian expressions. But here again the disciple is better than his master. His conception of the relation between primitive man and moral man, and of the transition from one to the other, differ fundamentally from that of Rousseau.³

¹ V. S., vol. xii., pp. 414-5. These are the opening paragraphs of the biographical parts of the *Swansong*.

² The *Diary*, in which he records for a brief period his educational experiences in connection with his own son (V. G., pp. 28 ff.).

³ Cf. Section I., p. 57.

Again, although both recognized the social roots of education, and both accepted the social aim of education, Pestalozzi was not a dreamer in the same sense as Rousseau. At least, he was not an idle dreamer. Instead of writing dream books, he established orphanages at Neuhof and Stanz and conducted great educational experiments at Burgdorf and Yverdun.

Pestalozzi was as profoundly convinced of the rottenness of society as Rousseau, but more clearly, or at any rate more consistently, than Rousseau, perhaps, he saw salvation in education, and in education promoted by the State.¹ From youth upwards, Pestalozzi had been a keen politician, in the best sense of that word. Whilst anything but a man of the world, he saw the evils from which the world was suffering, and especially that part of it which was less articulate in those days than it is now. He understood thoroughly the point of view of the Swiss labouring man of that day. *Leonard and Gertrude* brings that out admirably.² He saw above all things his want of independence. The old social order was that of an agricultural community—landlord, farmer, labourer—in which the personal tie was commonly more marked than the mercenary one. But the luxurious

¹ The fact that *Emile* was separated from society, and educated by a tutor in isolation, suggests an antisocial point of view. If Rousseau were inspired by such a feeling at the moment of writing, it was inconsistent with views expressed by him both before and after his educational romance was written. Compare, for example, the educational part of his article on "Political Economy," written for the *Encyclopædia* (1755), and his *Considerations on the Government of Poland* (1773). May it, in fact, not be that he severed *Emile* from society as he saw it, as he took his education out of the hands of parents as he saw them? It was a powerful protest against the corruptions of society and of parenthood, and not intended as a model procedure. As Mr. Boyd points out, if even Rousseau himself was inclined to accept a literal interpretation of his book, any doubt he may have had on the matter was not long-lived. "You remark very truly that it is impossible to make an *Emile*," he wrote in 1764, "but surely you do not think that that was my object." Whether or not it is worth while to try to defend Rousseau against the charge of inconsistency, this is hardly the place to undertake the task.

artificiality of the wealthier classes was bringing ruin upon the country people, who were left to the tender mercies of unscrupulous agents. Moved by the wretchedness and degradation which he saw around him, he tried to improve the lot of the villagers in two ways—(1) by education (in its fullest sense); (2) by introducing one or other of the new industries (e.g., cotton-spinning) into the villages.

But for him education was not concerned with instruction simply, or even primarily. He was concerned to raise men from their present degradation to the level of humanity. It was not the poverty which he saw around him which stirred his soul to its depths; it was the degraded lives the poor people led. Their shiftlessness, their want of purpose and initiative, their utter lack of human dignity, hurt him. All these things could be cured by a properly-devised system of education. The problem was at bottom an individual and a moral one: "Help the people to help themselves"; "Teach them the worth and dignity of honest labour." He would make the people happy and contented, not by showering charitable doles upon them, but by making them feel and prize their independence.¹

Nothing is more characteristic of Pestalozzi than the motives which stirred his educational activities. His vision was never shut in by the walls of his class-room. Education and life for him were only two ways of regarding the same process of experience. In *Leonard and Gertrude* the vocational aspect of the educational problem was perhaps too strongly emphasized; but even there he did not lose sight of the need for men first, and specifically trained artisans afterwards.¹¹ In *How Gertrude Teaches her Children* the vocational problem is in the background, but in the *Swansong* the proper balance is restored.

To save the people was Pestalozzi's leading motive. How was this to be done? Social amelioration in the shape of better housing and juster laws could be of little effect without education, but it must be an education in

¹ Cf. pp. 46 f., 200 f., 320 f., and elsewhere.

close relation to the facts and needs of life. A schooling "which gave knowledge without practical power" had no charm for him.

It is commonly said that Pestalozzi was not a psychologist, and in the strictly scientific sense of that word we may accept the judgment. Yet who can read the letters entitled *Views and Experiences* without realizing what an intelligent observer of children Pestalozzi was? The modern psychologist would write the fifth and sixth of these letters, shall we say, in less popular terms, but we may doubt whether he would succeed in producing a truer account of the mental life of early infancy. There are similar passages in all his writings which reveal a psychological insight far surpassing that of many of his successors. Nor was his knowledge of human nature in maturer form less profound—using the word "knowledge" to cover "feelings, instincts, and intuitional methods of arriving at conclusions," such as the French philosopher, Henri Bergson, has defended so powerfully. We may push aside the *Enquiries and Researches* and the *Evening Hours of a Hermit* as being unphilosophical, but there is more humanity in them than in many a more reasoned treatise on education and sociology.

In his own time, Pestalozzi was often accused of stealing the ideas of Basedow and the Philanthropinists. He vigorously defended himself against the accusation in a polemic which Morf describes in great detail. That there were points in common between them must be admitted, but, again, the resemblance is more superficial than fundamental. Basedow's educational work was in the first place confined to the well-to-do classes. He was interested only in them. His aims were utilitarian in the broad sense of the word, but his methods were external and mechanical rather than internal and spiritual. "Inducation" not "education" was the keynote of his method. He would have his pupils lead useful, patriotic, and happy lives, and he would attain this by giving them useful knowledge, founded on acquaintance with things

rather than words. The needs of the present day were dominant in his mind. Classical learning had nothing to offer in that direction ; it had therefore no countenance in his school. Learning was to be made easy ; effort and strain were to be abolished from school life ; work should be transformed into play whenever possible. Art and poetry had little place in his scheme of things. Campe, one of his most distinguished followers, said " the inventor of a new spinning-machine was a greater benefactor to humanity than Homer and all his poetry." As to religion, they thought that whilst it was not the only way of making children virtuous, yet it was the quickest and most effective ; moreover, a man who is professedly religious is more honoured in the world than the irreligious—they must therefore teach it.

The attitude of the Philanthropinists towards religion brings into strongest relief the contrast between them and Pestalozzi,¹ but it only illustrates a difference that extended right through their pedagogy. Pestalozzi's originality was more frequently challenged in reference to "teaching through the senses." In its bald form, this principle is of course much older than Pestalozzi. As we have seen, it was a cardinal feature of the pedagogy of Comenius, and it was certainly proclaimed again by Basedow. But "teaching through the senses" is only a very partial way of describing Pestalozzi's position. It is only a very superficial way of describing his *Anschaungs-Prinzip*, the full force of which is perhaps best expressed by the "principle of concreteness." Scores of visitors went away from Burgdorf and Yverdun without piercing the veil of imperfect practice which they saw there, and arriving at the real mind behind it. It was not altogether their fault, for Pestalozzi was misled partly by his mistaken analysis of the fundamental activities of the mind, and partly by a view of words themselves which was current in his day.² The word itself is for the child a thing that is sensed ; and just as the objects that

¹ Cf. pp. 33 f., 142 f.

² V. *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*, pp. 109 and 116.

are sensed by the eye may, even apart from experience of them, be supposed to suggest their own meaning and a more or less appropriate response (e.g., children will often shrink from a dog the first time they see one), so the sounds of words awaken a sort of racial memory which gives them initial values in the mental life of the child.

But *Anschauung* (concreteness) means something much more. It went down into the deeper places of the mind, and was not satisfied with a sensory veneer. The word suffers by its wide connotation, for Pestalozzi uses it of "inner feelings" as well as of "inner intellectual processes." It does not in the least follow that a teacher who is giving an object lesson with a complete equipment of objects is fulfilling what Pestalozzi understood by this principle. The *whole* mind of the children may not be called into play. It is not a question of inattention, but the quality of attention, so to speak, which is being given by the children. They may be thinking of nothing else as they enumerate the sensory qualities of the object exhibited to them, in response to their teacher's questions, and yet their whole beings are not engaged. There is a want of recognized purpose in their work which makes it formal and abstract instead of human and living. It is not "concrete" (meaningful) in the Pestalozzian sense.

The depth of Pestalozzi's insight lifts him head and shoulders above Comenius and Basedow, however much we should honour them for their work on "realities" in education. Sense reals are, however, only half reals—a truth which has still to penetrate the practice of the schools. (Pestalozzi saw this, but at Burgdorf, at any rate, his practice was misleading. In Yverdun he more nearly realized his theoretical views.)

✓ His point of view comes out, perhaps, more clearly in his defence of the home as the place of education *par excellence*, and of the good mother as the eternal type of educator. Why was this? Precisely because the home is the child's fundamental "reality." His activities there

have a "real" setting; the mutual services, the personal relationships, the whole of his experience, in fact, is concrete in the full sense of that word. It is life that reigns there, and it is life that educates. There, inner affections are transformed into acts of kindly service, and the whole environment builds up within the child that sacred love for home which remains with most of us the great "real" of life. Inner is made Outer, and Outer is made Inner, to use the words which Pestalozzi himself used¹ before Fröbelian mysteries were put into them.

Pestalozzi, however, won his fame as a schoolmaster through that badly-named book *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*, in which he is mainly occupied with the problem of instruction. What was called the "Pestalozzian Method" was a more or less faithful imitation of teaching devices which, when separated from the spirit of the master, quickly degenerated into the verbalism against which Pestalozzi waged war; indeed, he and his assistants often fell into practices which could hardly be defended against the charge of formalism which critics were not slow to hurl at them—charges which were made especially against the *Mother's Book*, for which Pestalozzi was himself only partially responsible.

If we would understand Pestalozzi's permanent contribution to the educational thought and practice, we must look deeper than his ABC books, which, as he himself acknowledged, were only the first attempts to give practical shapes to ideas which he felt were unassailable. They were the outcome of his effort to reduce education to a simple "mechanical" process which ignorant mothers might make use of. All these have long since been superseded, for no other reason than that they were themselves not conceived in the true spirit of the master. They were nothing more than a mechanical interpretation of the least satisfactory features of the "Elementary Method"—continuous gradation in scarcely perceptible steps from simple to complex, from the near to the more

¹ Cf. *Address to my House*, p. 207; *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*, p. 128.

remote. The principle that *Life educates* was forgotten.

The more fundamental features of his method are brought out in the *Address* of 1818 and in the *Swansong*. There he states in unmistakable terms the principle of spontaneity. The teacher's business is like that of the gardener, who may protect and nourish his plants, securing for them the most suitable environment, but he can do no more.¹ "The impulse to development lies within." This is as true of intellectual as of moral power, and equally true of practical capacity, though it is especially characteristic of morality. The feelings (*innere Anschauungen*) which are the germs of moral development we recognize as peculiarly intimate and self-originating. We must not, however, suppose the germs of our intellectual development less spontaneous in origin. Time, space, and number, are themselves contributions which mind makes to experience, thereby reducing its multifarious impressions to order. (The impulse and the capacity to organize his experiences are already in the child; it is the teacher's business so to arrange his environment and his needs that the impulse and the capacity are brought into activity.)

Similarly, in the same two essays, Pestalozzi insists upon the harmonious development of the child's three-fold capacity. He had a horror of one-sidedness in any direction,² and the test of success was social efficiency. It is in the first two letters of the *Views and Experiences* that this test is most clearly applied, but the social principle is a conspicuous feature of his writings and of his practical work from the Neuhof days to the days of his death. Home life is the great social teacher, and school

¹ The analogy of gardener and teacher is one that cannot be pressed very far. Pestalozzi himself saw the great difference between the plant and the child. The child has a will which is free. Men are masters of their circumstances. Cf. *Address* of 1818, p. 190, and *Enquiries and Researches*, p. 58. The spiritual element in man's environment makes the gardener analogy also misleading if it is at all pressed.

² Cf. p. 157, and pp. 268-9.

is more likely to fulfil its functions the more nearly it approaches the spirit and temper of the home. It is the life of the school at Yverdun which constitutes the deepest note of the *Report to Parents*.

The services of Pestalozzi to the development of educational thought and practice are hardly to be over-estimated. The eleven Prussian students sent by the State authorities to Yverdun—the Prussian “eleven” they were called—became educational administrators on their return; and if Moltke could say that it was the schoolmaster who triumphed at Gravelotte, not a little success was due to Pestalozzi. Hardly a country in Europe was not affected by him. Educational activity in England was occupied in the main with the struggles between the supporters of Bell and Lancaster, or with the question whether education was at all an affair of the State, and to what extent. Yet the Pestalozzian method was represented in the activities of Dr. and Miss Mayo, and in books for parents and teachers which Biber and others inspired or wrote.

Amongst the visitors to Burgdorf were Herbart and Fröbel, both of whom acknowledged their indebtedness to Pestalozzi. Herbart remained a diligent interpreter and friendly critic of Pestalozzi. He was, of course, a psychologist and philosopher, as well as a mathematician. He could pierce the husk of formalism into which Pestalozzian practice had fallen, and reduce to logical system the sound intuitions which lay behind them. But Herbart’s point of view was alien to the spirit of Pestalozzi, who always had in mind a living and growing soul, in place of which Herbart gives us an external and mechanically-formed mind.

In a still greater degree the secret of Fröbel will be found in Pestalozzi. Fröbelian *self-activity* is neither more nor less than Pestalozzian *spontaneity*. The very phrases which are peculiarly associated with the name of Fröbel were used by Pestalozzi: “Learn by doing”; “Live for our children”; “Making the Inner Outer.” Fröbel was a mystic by temperament. He could not have written so simply of children as Pestalozzi does in

the *Views and Experiences* (Letter VI.), and his psychology of childhood loses enormously by the mysteries with which it is involved.

Yet both Herbart and Fröbel have made an impression upon the professional teachers of the last fifty years apparently far more striking than Pestalozzi. This is due in part to the practical form into which they or their followers have reduced their teaching. Fröbelian "gifts" and Herbartian "steps" were formulæ of direct and easy application to class-room practice. Whether in use they represented the spirit of the master was another matter. Pestalozzi's attempts to "mechanize" instruction were too clumsy for wide appreciation, and he was represented chiefly by the "object lesson" which the Mayos popularized in this country.

Pestalozzi's principles were, however, too fundamental ever to form a school of practice. He stands outside and above party. His ideas are the very breath of all later idealistic and practical educational work. "Back to Pestalozzi" is a common cry in modern German pedagogy. Thanks largely to Professor Natorp and Drs. Wiget and Leser, the deeper Pestalozzian message has been heard. From whatever side we approach him, with whatever problems we confront him, Pestalozzi reveals a pedagogical insight and breadth of view which belongs to no school, but will be fruitful for all time.¹

¹ For a fuller exposition of Pestalozzian Doctrine, I am permitted to refer to my *Life and Work of Pestalozzi* (Clive and Co.).

I.—EARLY WRITINGS

“EVENING HOURS OF A HERMIT”

[These detached thoughts on education were published in the *Ephemerides*, a journal devoted to literary, social, and philosophical subjects, in 1780. It was reprinted with some changes in the *Wochenschrift* in 1807, and again in 1815. Pestalozzi describes the aphorisms himself, in a letter to Iselin, as the preface to all that he should write in the future. For that reason he suggested their being reprinted. He would have them better known. They do in fact contain his whole philosophy of life and education. The text is complete and is translated from the edition of 1807.]

WHAT is man in essence? Apart from differences of station—king and cottager—what is the nature of the manhood which king and cottager alike enjoy? Why do not our wise men examine this question? Does the farmer not study his oxen? Does the shepherd not consider the nature of his sheep?

And you who teach men to regard you as their shepherds, do you take as much trouble to understand your flock as the farmer does in respect of his cattle, or the shepherd in respect of his sheep? Does your claim to honour rest on your special knowledge of mankind, and does your reputation depend on the enlightened way in which you shepherd your people? In any case, it surely should be so. To know what man in himself is like, what his needs are, what elevates and what depraves him, that is obviously necessary to the self-styled shepherds

of the people. So much indeed should all men know, however humble their station.

Everywhere this need is felt. Everywhere men are struggling painfully and spasmodically upwards. Generations pass away, and the goal is no nearer. The only result is to hand on still further the unmistakable tale of incomplete lives. For such men the end was not the autumn of life, with its ripening fruit followed appropriately by the winter's rest—their destiny fulfilled.

Why, then, does man continue this struggle for truth so aimlessly? Why does he not set himself to find out the fundamental needs of man, the foundation on which lives of joy and blessedness might be built? Why does he not seek after truth which would satisfy him in his heart, develop his powers, brighten his days and bring blessings upon his years?

The satisfaction of the human heart, the strength and purity of our common human nature, the blessedness of human existence—these things are no dream! To seek and to find them is surely man's real vocation. Therein at least lies the desire of my own heart; my whole nature drives me to take a part in that search.

THE MEANS WHEREBY HUMAN NATURE MAY FIND SATISFACTION—EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS.

Where must man seek the truth on which the perfection of his nature depends? Driven by his needs, he will find it ultimately in his own inmost depths.

Man's capacity for happiness is dependent neither on artifice nor on chance circumstance. It lies in himself, bound up with his fundamental aptitudes. We must of all things realize this truth first.

Life itself as the individual himself lives it is Nature's book. Therein lies the secret of the power of a wise education, and schools whose work is not based on this foundation only mislead.

The happy nursing learns in this way what his mother means to him. Thus love and gratitude are planted as *realities* in his mind before he knows anything of *words* like "duty" or "thanks." In the same natural way the son who eats his father's bread and warms himself at his hearth finds happiness in the discharge of his filial duties.

At bottom all men are alike ; there is only one way to their happiness. Sooner or later the truth which has its source in the depths of their common nature will be recognized everywhere, thereby uniting the thousands who are now at variance over mere externals.

It is man himself, his sense of power, that is the concern of natural education.

THE AIM AND THE SPHERE OF EDUCATION.

That all men, even the humblest, should attain this level of human wisdom in all its simplicity is the object of a *general* education. To adapt that wisdom, by practical exercises, to the particular circumstances of life is vocational education. But the latter must always be subordinate to the wider aim.

Whatever the station in life, however humble it may be, wisdom and strength based on simplicity and innocence of life have a blessed influence ; similarly, these qualities are indispensable in the ruling classes. He who is not first of all a man with all his humanity fully developed lacks even the first essential of an education which is designed for a special position in the world, and no external greatness can dispense with it. Between the father of a family and the prince, between the poor burdened with the cares of poverty and the rich perhaps more burdened with the anxieties of his position, between the ignorant mother and the famous scholar, between the lazy sluggard and the genius of world-wide influence, there is a wide gulf fixed. But if the great of the earth have, with the growth of their dignities, lost their simple human feelings, then will dark and gloomy clouds

surround them in their heights, whilst cultivated human nature in the cottager lives in the sunshine of true human worth, lofty, contented, and pure.

Thus it is that a prince who is anxious that justice and righteousness should be dealt out to offenders against the law vainly offers liberal monetary rewards to secure it. If he will have judges who shall discharge their duties wisely, who shall deal with wrongdoers in the fashion of fathers of the people, let him encourage humaner views in the council of war and in the estate office, and let his own household be penetrated by the family spirit. Otherwise the talk of enlightened laws is as empty as that of neighbourly love among heartless people.

It may be that you, prince, are thus far from the blessedness of the truth which you vainly seek. Meanwhile there are fathers in the dust under your feet who are dealing wisely with their troublesome children. In the tears of their night watches, and in the way they bear their daily burden, learn, prince, how to deal wisely with those who offend. Entrust the right of life and death to men who seek wisdom on this same road. O prince, the most blessed theory in the world is a humane spirit ; only through that have laws any effect in spreading light, wisdom, and happiness, amongst the people.

THE COURSE WHICH NATURE MUST FOLLOW IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MAN.

Any method of opening up man's powers which claims to be natural must be open and easy, and education which aims at leading men to true and restful wisdom must be simple and of general application.

The natural way of cultivating power is to put it to use, to give it exercise.

That power comes from putting knowledge, gifts, and capacities, to use is Nature's secret for the education of man.

Therefore the man of simple character and unstained life, who quietly, diligently, and with all docility, makes

good use of his knowledge and of his finer powers, is educated according to Nature; whilst the man who puts this natural ordinance to confusion in his own heart, by weakening the simplicity and adaptability of his requirements, grows unfit to enjoy the blessedness of truth.

Parents should not hurry their children into working at things remote from their immediate interests. Let them first attain the strength that comes from dealing efficiently with matters near at hand. Be fearful of sternness and strain. By anticipating the ordinary course, they diminish the powers of their children, and disturb profoundly the equilibrium of their nature. This is what happens when teachers hurry children into lessons that are concerned chiefly with words, before they have passed through the discipline of actual encounter with real things. Yet it is out of such experience that wisdom and truth develop. The teacher's course lays the foundations of intellectual growth and power in empty words instead of in the solid truths that come from contact with realities.

The artificial methods of the school which prefers the order of words to the free though slow sequence of Nature may make men superficially brilliant, hiding in this way their want of native power and satisfying times like ours.

The perverse and exhausting pursuit of the mere shadows of truth; the desire for talk about truth in which there is no genuine interest and for which there is no possible application; the devotion of the developing powers of youth to teachers who are one-sided and inelastic in their views; the manifold artifices employed in this commerce of words which is the basis of contemporary education—all this shows how pitiful is our departure from Nature's way.

Yet there is nothing hard and compulsory in the methods of Nature. If it were so, one-sidedness would follow, and truth would not fall softly and freely, nor would it penetrate human nature to its depths. If truth were difficult of access, its attainment would not make

for the gentle service of humanity ; it would not make good and tender mothers, whose joy and wisdom is the happy necessity of their children.

The forces of Nature, although they lead infallibly to their end (which is truth) show no stiffness (or difficulties) in their working. The nightingale's song vibrates through the darkness, and all natural objects move in thrilling freedom—not a sign of intrusive compulsion anywhere.

Man loses the equilibrium of his power, the strength of his wisdom, in proportion as his mind is compulsorily given up to the pursuit of an object. Hence the natural way of teaching is not coercive.

INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION.

To lead men to the truth is nothing more than to train them to that knowledge of themselves which brings repose.

Or,

To lead men to the truth (to reality) is to educate their nature to rest-bringing wisdom.

If men seek the truth as Nature defines it, then will they find it as they need it for their particular point of view and their particular career. Just as it is needful to man's rest and peace, just as it is a guiding star in his immediate affairs, just as it is the very support of his life, so is it full of blessedness. Individual men in their individual positions could make no use of the whole field of knowledge. The range of knowledge through which man is blessed in his station is narrow, and it is in the beginning narrower still, centred entirely about himself and his immediate neighbourhood. Gradually the range is widened, but every extension derives its usefulness from its connections with this intimate beginning.

The direct feeling for reality is formed only in those narrow circles, and true human wisdom has, for its bed-rock an intimate knowledge of the immediate en-

vironment, and trained capacity for dealing adequately with it.

Wisdom which is called into play by the needs of our particular situations increases and strengthens our effectiveness, and the type of mind which it engenders is simple and clear-sighted ; formed by actual contact with uncompromising realities, it is adaptive to future situations. In action it is firm, sensitive, and sure. Nature's sublime road leads straight to reality, which is none other than strong and active human nature itself ; this is at once the source, the means of training, and the ultimate end.

Surely it is men we are educating, not brilliant mushroom growths. The child of Nature is limited (and recognizes the fact) ; he speaks only when his knowledge is adequate. The scattered confusion which comes from knowing many things is not the natural type. Similarly, the man who hovers lightly about every branch of knowledge, without putting his knowledge steadily and unobtrusively to use, loses the feeling of reality which is expressed in the steadfast glance of quiet solid joy.

The way of men who in the medley of their manifold knowledge find much opportunity for talk is uncertain and wavering ; they never attain the reposeful feeling that belongs to true wisdom. For them, in all their noisy pride, their immediate surroundings are a dark and dreary desert, whereas it is there that the power of the blessedly wise shines most brightly.

Similarly, the dreary wastes of gloomy ignorance lead from Nature's path. Want of knowledge of our own nature puts narrower limits upon wisdom than actual circumstance. The perversion of the fundamental notions concerning our place in the world, oppressive tyranny, unnatural want of general rational enlightenment in the most essential needs and relationships of humanity, increase the obscurity, as the shades of night darken the earth.

THE EDUCATION OF THE HEART.

Conduct which is contrary to our inner feeling of right undermines our capacity for knowing reality, destroys the purity and simplicity of our fundamental ideas and feelings. Human wisdom is founded on the strength of a good heart which is obedient to truth, and human blessedness on the rock of simplicity and innocence. To preserve in men this simplicity and innocence is the first care of the fatherhood of humanity, in order that on the foundation of an unpolluted heart the right intellectual structure may be assured.

Man must be educated to internal peace. To teach him to be contented with his lot and its attainable joys, to be patient, to be ready to give honour, and to have faith in his Father's love in times of trial—that is what man needs in his education. Unless he is at peace with himself, he wanders hither and thither on unknown ways. His longing for the impossible robs him of the pleasure to be got from his immediate surroundings, and of that strength which belongs to the wise, the patient, and the adaptable. If he has not peace in his heart, the foundations of his manhood are undermined, and he is harassed by dark fears at times when the wise man laughs in joyousness of spirit.

The discontented man worries himself in his home circle, because he did not distinguish himself in the dance, in the orchestra, or in the political assembly. Restfulness and quiet pleasure are the first objects of human education; they are the greatest need of the time. Knowledge and ambition should be subordinate to these; otherwise they become a source of torment and growing disappointment.

HOME EDUCATION.

Man does not live for himself alone. Nature educates him for and by means of his external social relations. In proportion to the intimacy of the relations into which man enters, are they important as factors in educating

him for his future destiny (walk in life). The power that comes from dealing with the things about him is always the source of capacity for the wise handling of things more remote. The experience of fatherhood is the best training for the governor; good brothers make good citizens; from both sources spring order in the home and in the state. The family relationship is the first and foremost of natural relationships. Man works at his calling, and bears the burden of citizenship in order that he may enjoy in quiet the blessings of home.

Thus, the education of men for this or that occupation or for a particular social rank must be subordinate to an education which aims primarily at the purity and happiness of family life. For this reason the home should be the foundation of any natural scheme of education. Home is the great school of character and of citizenship. Man is first of all a child, and then the apprentice of his calling. The virtues of childhood bear fruit in the days of apprenticeship; establishing those virtues is the first preparation for the blessings of the future life. Whoever departs from this natural order and hurries forward an education specialized with reference to the needs of the state or of a special calling, whether that of ruler or that of servant, draws men from the enjoyment of their natural blessings on to a sea fraught with unknown dangers.

Surely all recognize and lament the fact that the ruling classes are losing their natural advantages through their education. Is it not clear that in departing from the wise order of Nature their education is bringing disappointment and decay upon them, and is thus adversely affecting the welfare of the people? Do we not all feel how the men of all nations are abandoning the simple joys of home life for unprofitable and glittering shows, in which they may advertise their accomplishments and gratify their lust of praise? Men are wandering far astray and losing sight altogether of their bearings.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

Man's relationship to God is the nearest of all his relationships. Neither home nor wise enjoyment brings repose at all times. His gentle nature, however well and sympathetically trained, has not without God the strength to withstand authority and death. God as the Father of his house—God as the Source of all happiness, God as his own Father—in this faith man finds rest and power which neither authority nor the grave can destroy. Faith in God is in accord with the highest human feelings; it is the attitude of trustfulness which God's children assume towards their Father in heaven. Faith in God gives the peace on which social order depends, on which, again, depends that undisturbed use of our power which is essential to its increase and its development towards wisdom, and wisdom is the source of all human blessedness. Thus, faith in God is the beginning of wisdom and blessedness—Nature's simple provision for the education of men. Faith in God is graven deep in man's nature; as his sense of right and wrong is indestructible, so is this, the unchangeable foundation of human education, to be found in the innermost recesses of his nature. Faith in God is ever the people's portion, however humble the circumstances; it is the source of true power in the highest station, and of its strength in the lowest. Faith in God is *not* the consequence of training and education; it is the consciousness of the pure and the simple, who with innocent ear listen to Nature's voice and know that God is their Father. Childlike obedience is *not* the result of a finished education; it is the very beginning, the foundation thereof.

The awe of the learned who contemplates the wonders of creation, his researches into the mysteries of the Creator—this is not the way to the faith of which we speak. Such an inquirer may easily lose himself in the bottomless depths of the *création*, and dive hither and thither in their waters, far astray from the Source of this unfathomable sea.

God my Father, the God who is there in the humblest cottage—the God of my inmost being—God, Giver of His gifts and of my life's joys—to lead men to realize these things, that is the way education should take; only when faith is based on joy and personal experience can it attain to its natural power.

Or I call loudly to the people, Does this story of overwhelming goodness not touch you, O men? Do you find consolation in the doctrine that it is mere chance whether good or ill predominates in life? When the flames of distress burn over your heads and threaten destruction, do you find consolation in this sort of wisdom?

But when your Father strengthens you in your inmost parts, brings joy to your days, fortifies you in suffering, and makes you certain of the overwhelming preponderance of good, then have you found Nature's way of establishing faith in God.

The bread which my child eats from my hand gives shape to his childish feelings—not his astonishment over my night watches, not my care for his later years. His judgments over my actions are unthinking; they may mislead him and turn his ear from me.

Simplicity and innocence, pure human gratitude and love, is the source of faith. In his childlike simplicity man feels the hope of eternal life, and without that hope the simple faith of men in God loses its primitive force.

The footsteps of the tyrant, trampling upon his brothers, the children of his God, shatter the hopes of men to their foundations. The crowds of dead victims, their widows and orphans, cry aloud, tremble, hunger, believe, and die.

If God is the Father of men, then in the day of their death their destiny is not accomplished.

Hast thou any sense of truth left in thee, O man? Speak! Canst thou believe that God is the Father of man, and that He would allow that day to be the end of the matter for such sufferers? Either God is the Father of man or death is the end of all things.

O man, that inner feeling of thine is a safe guide to

truth and to duty ; and dost thou doubt whether that sense tells thee of a life everlasting ? Believe in thyself, give ear to the teachings of thine own heart ; then wilt thou believe in God and in eternal life.

God is our Father, and His children live for ever. There comes from the depths of thy nature, O man, a voice which truth, innocence, and simplicity, hear with reverence and faith. But innocence and simplicity do not fall to all men. To many this inner sense of human nature is a dream-play, and faith in God and eternal life that is built upon it is a contemptible motive of man's art.

O God, who teachest me so powerfully the lesson of truth, happiness, faith, and eternal life—God, whom all His children hear—God, whom all gentle, sensitive, simple, loving folk understand, and all in the same measure—God, did I not give ear to Thy voice which speaks the eternal truth to my inmost nature—did I not believe, what should I be, what should I do ?

Belief in God divides men into children of God and children of the world ; it is belief in the Fatherhood of God, belief in eternal life. God the Father of man, man the child of God, that is the simple message of the faith. Paternal feeling, filial feeling—this common household blessing is also the result of faith.

The enjoyment of my rights as father, the blissful devotion of my wife, the deep and elevating gratitude of my children—this is the result of my faith in God. Belief in my father, who is God's child, is the root of my faith in God, and, conversely, my belief in God is the guarantee of my faith in my father and of the fulfilment of every household duty.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP.

In the sublime education of Nature duty and enjoyment are united ; in her hands man passes from his present blessings to new duties. All men, be they rulers or subjects, lords or vassals, are prepared for the special duties of their position in the course of enjoying their

earliest natural relations. The prince is at once the child of God and the child of his father. The prince is both the child of his father and the father of his people. The subject is at once the child of God and the child of his father. The subject is both the child of his father and the child of his prince. A prince as such is comparable with God. He is the father of the nation. His subjects are his children, and, with him, they are the children of God. How delicate, and yet how strong and beautiful, is this complex relationship of mankind! But men of great station should realize how vain is their dignity in the presence of a nation that is depraved.

I may not name a father's rank. What is a father, and what might he be? An ox at the manger, a lord of his house. A very prince in his cottage, however humble his lot. O Lord and Father of all, the humblest dependent is in essence the equal of his master, and the satisfaction of his natural needs is his due. To raise the people to the full joy of which their nature is capable is the aim of the ruler who calls himself the father of his people. That the people should enjoy the blessings of home, confident as children in the fatherhood of their prince; that they should expect to fulfil their paternal duty to bring up and train their children to the joys of manhood: is this a dream? Is such childlike hope at bottom a sign of sleep? Not so; faith in God is the force behind this hope. Princes who believe in God and in the brotherhood of man find here stimulus to the duties of their position. They are God's vicegerents; they were trained for their people's good. Princes who deny the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men destroy thereby all faith in their duties. They are men of terror, whose power devastates the earth. In recognizing the ultimate Fatherhood of God, princes insure the obedience of their people, for then it is God's own affair. And the prince who refuses to recognize his responsibilities to God is building his throne on the treacherous sand of fear. *

Faith in God is in this respect the bond between prince

and people, the bond which unites men in happy human relationships. Unbelief, denial of brotherhood and brotherly duties amongst men, disregard of God's paternal rights, contemptuous and impudent misuse of power, is the bursting of all the bonds that make for human happiness.

Priests tell us of the Fatherhood of God and of the brotherhood of man; their profession brings man's natural relations into union with his blessedness through faith in God. Faith in God is the origin of the feelings of fatherhood and brotherhood amongst men—the source of all righteousness. Righteousness without fatherly and brotherly feeling is a glittering absurdity with no power of blessedness. The disdainful righteousness of the oracle who has sown his wild oats, the sort of thing on which lawyers and courts of justice flourish, is a masquerade of reality, and not a source of popular blessing.

Sincerity, innocence, and fearlessness, that inspire simple popular virtues, and the wise and fatherly administration of justice, spring from faith.

Reckless and passionate outcry against innocence, right, and truth—these proofs of the absence of a strong and pure administration of the law—spring from unbelief. Tyrannous action and daring insolent encroachment upon the law and upon purity weaken the national spirit; again unbelief is at the root of the mischief.

But, on the other hand, the sense of brotherhood and fatherhood gives rise to all unsullied national joys. Popular belief in God is the source of national virtues, national blessing, and national strength.

Sin is both the cause and the consequence of unbelief. It is man's active opposition to the teachings of his conscience concerning right and wrong. It brings confusion into our fundamental notions and sullies the purity of our primitive feelings. It means loss of faith in self and in the teachings of conscience, loss of faith in God, loss of the childlike attitude towards Him. Public sinfulness is man's presumption against God.

Horror of sin, the purity of our childlike attitude

towards God—these are the express results of man's faith in God's revelation. Horror of public misdeeds should be like the feeling of a child towards him whom his parents despise.

National horror of national wrongdoing is a sure sign of national faith and of the childlike attitude of the people towards God on high.

National horror at the manifest insolence of their princes towards God is a proof of national virtue. Should that diminish, quiet confidence in God will diminish also.

Unbelief destroys all social bonds. The unbelief of the ruling classes leads their subjects to rebel. Fatherly virtues in the rulers insure the obedience of the ruled. Unbelief destroys obedience at its source. Under the rule of one who is not their father, the popular mind does not develop a sentiment of simple gratitude and childlike obedience. The consequences of unbelief—burdens that increase daily, daily diminishing patrimony, arbitrary and unprofitable action, odd and undignified buffoonery in the palace, oppressive officialdom, money bled from the people, an impoverished nation—are unavoidable in a state where unbelief reigns and the rights of God and man are not respected.

Popular resentment of the unnatural use of paternal rights weakens the strength and purity of the bond between prince and people. Kindly maternal human nature tightens the bonds of citizenship through a sense of blessings mutually enjoyed. The national sense of these blessings consecrates the ties of prince and people through gratitude, love, and faith. Herein is the sacred source of patriotism and civic virtue.

I am touching strings that are loose and out of tune. The music of the dance will drown them ; the song of the insolent will shout them down. We care no more for truth and human purity. Human power is only blessed through faith in God, and the paternal attitude of the prince—the sole source of his people's happiness—is the consequence of his faith in God. Man, humble as

is thy station, if thy prince is a child of God, then is his power the power of a father.

The hard, arrogant use of royal rights does not come from fatherly feelings nor from faith in God. It is the destruction of the highest concerns of the prince and of his land; it is the destruction of the simple childlike attitude of the people towards the prince.

Nevertheless I may not call this widespread custom of intelligent officials high-treason.

But what else is it, if it represents the paternal right of the prince as a right to do good or evil as he pleases?

What is it else if in the name of the prince it destroys domestic happiness, attacks private property, and heaps insult and calumny upon the innocent? 6722

The bond which unites men in happiness, the faith of the prince and his people in the Lord on high, faith in God, that alone can insure mankind from being wrecked upon this rock.

All unbelief is arrogant, but faith in God, the childlike attitude of man towards the Godhead, is quiet confidence in the Divine influence.

Brilliant, dazzling exhaustion of his nature, bold, careless courage in the midst of danger and destruction, is man's strength when he forsakes his childlike attitude towards God. Earnest, economical use of every small capacity, and a desire to increase his strength, is Nature's provision for the training and improvement of our powers, and in times of difficulty and weakness it is man's innocent tendency to turn to God.

To be attracted by unworthy appearances, to be induced to show off one's capacities and powers, to hide one's weaknesses, is the tendency of the lowest and weakest of men who is drawn away from this educative way of Nature. Man in his noblest expression, trained in this natural way, shows a father's care against these lower powers and aptitudes.

Man, in thy fulness apply thyself to this end.

Set a father's sense of lofty powers against the weak and undeveloped crowd.

O pure blessedness of humanity, thou art the strength and the consequence of faith.

O joy around my cottage, thou also art a consequence of this faith. Be my salvation and that of my house.

That man may believe in God, I remain under this humble roof.

The belief of the people in God's true priests is the source of rest in life. God's priests represent the simple paternal relation of man. Thy power, O consecrated one, is God's means of illumination.

God's means of illumination is love, wisdom, and the paternal sense.

Would that I might throw a shadow of God's power on whomsoever wanders about my doors !

O sun, thou type of His power, thy daily course is finished. Thou goest down behind my mountain.

O day of my destiny, O hope of the coming morning, O power of my faith !

I build all freedom on justice, but I see in this world no certain justice except in a manhood devoted to and inspired by simplicity, piety, and love.

The justice of family life, which is the greatest, purest, and most universally enjoyed, rests solely upon love ; its blessings are widespread, while the peoples retain their simplicity.

As all justice rests on love, so freedom rests on justice. Simple childlike confidence is the true source of the freedom which rests on justice, and the paternal spirit in its purity is the secret of such state power as maintains righteousness of action and love of freedom.

And the source of justice and of world blessedness, the source of brotherly love amongst men, comes from the great religious idea that we are God's children, and that belief in this is the sure foundation of human well-being. In this great religious principle lies the secret of all true statesmanship which aims at the people's happiness, for all inner moral power, all power of illumination, all wisdom, is based on man's faith in God.

And forgetfulness of God, neglect of man's childlike relations to God, is a disintegrating force under which morality, inspiration and wisdom disappear. No greater misfortune could come upon man than this, that he should lose his childlike faith in God; for then the education which God as Father gives would be impossible, and the restoration of this lost attitude to God is the only means of rescuing His terrestrial children.

The Man of God who through His suffering and death restored that lost childlike feeling towards God, is the Saviour of the World; He is the sacrificed Priest of the Lord, He is the Mediator between God and His forgetful people. His teaching is pure justice, educative, popular philosophy; it is the revelation of God the Father to the lost generation of His children.

“LEONARD AND GERTRUDE”

(*Part I., Chapter XXXI.*)

[In 1780 Pestalozzi published a simple story of village life. Its aim was to show how carelessness (or worse) on the part of landowners and officials might bring about the moral degradation of a whole community. The village of Bonnal had suffered terribly at the hands of a man who combined the office of land-agent with the business of an innkeeper. With one exception, every home in the village was ruined by this unscrupulous rascal. The household of the stone-mason Leonard had withstood both his threats and his wiles, thanks to the nobility of Gertrude, Leonard's wife. She is Pestalozzi's model mother, and the influence she exerts upon her children is precisely the influence which he regards as the fundamental basis of all education. The chapter is given because it offers in the concrete what Pestalozzi describes more generally in the thirteenth and fourteenth letters of How Gertrude Teaches her Children and, in the eighth of the Views and Experiences.]

EVENING BEFORE A FESTIVAL DAY IN THE HOUSE OF A PIous MOTHER.

“ GERTRUDE was yet alone with her children. The events of the week and the thoughts of the festival Easter morning filled her heart. In silence she prepared the supper, took from the closet the Sunday clothes for her husband, herself and her children, and laid them all ready for to-morrow, that no earthly care should distract her mind on the holy day. And when she had completed it all, she assembled her children round the table to pray with them.

“ It was her custom on Saturdays to remind the children, in the hour of evening prayer, of their faults, and of such occurrences as were calculated peculiarly to interest and to edify them.

“ And this day especially she remembered the loving-kindness of God towards her during the past week, and she wished, as far as possible, to impress deeply and indelibly upon the minds of her children the marks which she had received of the goodness and mercy of God.

“ The children sat round her in silence, with their little hands folded for prayer, and the mother said to them :

“ ‘ Children, I have to tell you of good things. Our dear father has had this week very excellent work given him, by which he will earn much more than he could do before ; and we may hope, my children, to eat our bread in future with less care and sorrow.

“ ‘ Give thanks, therefore, unto God, our loving Father in heaven, for His goodness towards us, and remember often the old times, when I was obliged to portion out to you every mouthful of bread with care and anxiety. Oh ! it grieved my heart many a time that I could not give you sufficient, but our kind Heavenly Father knew that He would help us, and that it was better for you, my dears, to be accustomed to poverty and patience, and to learn to conquer your own desires, than to live in plenty. For man, when he has whatever he likes, is liable to grow thoughtless, and to forget God, and not to do what is

best and most beneficial for himself. Oh ! remember, as long as you live, my children, our days of poverty, and the distress and the sorrows which we have endured ; and if we be better off henceforth, my children, be mindful of those who are suffering in want, even as you have been suffering. Never forget what it is to be visited by want and hunger, that you may always be merciful towards the poor ; and that you may be willing, if you have a morsel to spare, to give it to those that have not. Yes, you are willing ; are you not, my children ?

“ ‘ O yes, dear mother ! ’ replied the children, ‘ surely we will do it.’

“ *Mother.*—‘ Well then, Niclas, whom do you know that suffers most from hunger ?’

“ *Niclas.*—‘ Mother ! ’tis Rudeli. You were yesterday with his father. He is almost starving ; he eats grass off the ground.’

“ *Mother.*—‘ Should you like to give him your supper now and then ?’

“ *Niclas.*—‘ O yes, mother ! may I to-morrow ?’

“ *Mother.*—‘ Yes, you may.’

“ *Niclas.*—‘ That’s very nice.’

“ *Mother.*—‘ And you, Betty ! to whom would you give your supper now and then ?’

“ *Betty.*—‘ I can’t think just now to whom I should like to give it.’

“ *Mother.*—‘ Can you not think of a child, then, that must go without food sometimes ?’

“ *Betty.*—‘ O yes, I can, mother !’

“ *Mother.*—‘ Why, then, can you not tell to whom you would give ? You are always so scrupulous, Betty.’

“ *Betty.*—‘ Well, mother, I know now.’

“ *Mother.*—‘ To whom ?’

“ *Betty.*—‘ To Marx’s Beteli. I saw her to-day digging out rotten potatoes from the bailiff’s dunghill.’

“ *Niclas.*—‘ O yes, mother ! and I saw her too ; and I looked in all my pockets for bread, but I had not a mouthful left : if I had but kept it a quarter of an hour longer !’

“The mother then asked, in the same way, the other children ; and they were all delighted at the idea of giving their suppers to poor children to-morrow.

“The mother let them enjoy their delight for a while, and then she said to them : ‘That’s enough, my children ; now think what beautiful presents his lordship has made you.’

“‘O yes, the new bright pennies—will you show them to us, mother ?’ said the children.

“‘Yes, after prayers,’ said the mother.

“And the children shouted with joy.

“‘You are too noisy, children,’ said the mother. ‘If something good comes to you, always think on God, who gives us all things. If you do that, children, you will not be wild and boisterous in your joy. I like to be cheerful with you, my dears ! but when people are loud and violent in their joy or their sorrow, evenness of temper and peace of heart are lost ; and a man who has not a still, quiet, and glad heart cannot be happy. Therefore we ought always to have the fear of God before our eyes. Your morning and evening prayers are on purpose that you should not forget this : for people that thank God and pray to Him are neither immoderate in their joys nor comfortless in their sorrows. And therefore, my children, we should try, especially in the hour of prayer, to be still and quiet. You see, children, if you thank your father for anything, you do not shout and make a noise ; you fall round his neck silently or with a few words, and when it goes near to your hearts the tears come into your eyes. So it is with God, my dear children. If you are very much rejoiced at the good He does you, and if you have it in your heart to thank Him, I am sure you will not make many words or much noise, but the tears will come in your eyes when you think how kind your Heavenly Father is. That is the good of praying, you see ; one’s heart should always remain thankful towards God and man ; and if you pray aright, you will do aright likewise, and you will be in favour with God and man all your lives.’

“ *Niclas*.—‘ We shall be in favour with the good lord at Arnburg, too, if we do right; did not you say so yesterday, mother ?’

“ *Mother*.—‘ Yes, children, he is a very good and pious man. May God reward him for all that he has done for us ! I hope he will be pleased with you, *Niclas*, by-and-by !’

“ *Niclas*.—‘ I’ll do all he would wish me to do ; I will do anything for him, just as for you and for our father, because he is so very good.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ That’s right, *Niclas*. Always think so, and you may be sure he will like you.’

“ *Niclas*.—‘ Oh, how I should like to talk to him some day !’

“ *Mother*.—‘ Well, what would you say to him ?’

“ *Niclas*.—‘ I would thank him for that fine new penny.’

“ *Anne*.—‘ Should you be bold enough to thank him ?’

“ *Niclas*.—‘ Why not ?’

“ *Anne*.—‘ I should not, I am sure.’

“ *Betty*.—‘ No, nor I either !’

“ *Mother*.—‘ Why should not you, my children ?’

“ *Betty*.—‘ Oh, I should be laughing !’

“ *Mother*.—‘ What, laughing ! O fie ! *Betty*, to say beforehand that you would be silly ! If you had not a great many foolish things in your brains, you could never think or talk thus.’

“ *Anne*.—‘ I should not laugh, but I should be afraid.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ He would take you by the hand, *Anne*, and would smile upon you, as your father does when he is well pleased. Then you would not be afraid, I suppose ?’

“ *Anne*.—‘ Oh no, not if he did that.’

“ *Jonas*.—‘ No, no more should I.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ Well, but, my dears, how is it about your goodness this week ?’

“ The children look at one another and say nothing.

“ *Mother*.—‘ *Anne*, have you been a good girl this week ?’

“ *Anne*.—‘ No, mother ! you know about my little brother.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ O yes, Anne, the poor child might have been very much injured ; poor babes that have been left in that way have sometimes died. Besides, only think if you were shut by yourself in a room, and left to cry, and to suffer hunger and thirst. Poor little children get angry when they see that nobody cares for them, and cry so dreadfully that they may hurt themselves for their whole lives. Really, Anne, I should not be able to leave the house for one moment with comfort, if I was not sure that you would take good care of the baby.’

“ *Anne*.—‘ Trust me, dear mother ! I will not leave him again for a single moment.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ Well, I hope that you will not give me such another fright. And now, Niclas, how has it been with you this week ?’

“ *Niclas*.—‘ I know of nothing wrong.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ Have you forgotten that you threw down Kitty on Monday last ?’

“ *Niclas*.—‘ I did not mean to do it, mother.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ To be sure you did not mean it. To do such a thing on purpose would be fine indeed. Are you not ashamed to make such a speech ?’

“ *Niclas*.—‘ I am sorry for it, dear mother. I’ll not do it again.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ If you should be so careless when you grow bigger, you will have to learn better at your own expense. Even among boys the thoughtless and careless ones get into a great many scrapes and quarrels ; and I am afraid you will bring great misfortune and sorrow upon me, some day, by your careless ways.’

“ *Niclas*.—‘ I am sure, mother, I’ll be more careful.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ Be sure not to forget it, my dear : believe me, that your carelessness would certainly make you unhappy.’

“ *Niclas*.—‘ I know it and believe it, my dear, dear mother ; and I promise you I shall be careful in future.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ Well, and you, Betty, how have you behaved this week ?’

“ *Betty*.—‘ I am sure I can’t think of anything out of the way this week, mother.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ Are you quite sure?’

“ *Betty*.—‘ I am indeed, mother—as much as I can recollect. I should not mind telling of it if I knew.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ It’s very odd that, even when you have nothing to tell, you answer always with as many words as another who has got a great deal to say.’

“ *Betty*.—‘ Well, what have I said then, mother?’

“ *Mother*.—‘ You have said nothing, I know; but you have given me a long answer. ’Tis what we have told you a thousand times, that you are too forward: you never think what you should say, and yet you will always be talking. For instance, what business had you, the day before yesterday, to tell the bailiff you knew that Arner was coming shortly?’

“ *Betty*.—‘ I am sorry for it, mother.’

“ *Mother*.—‘ We have often told you not to talk about things which don’t belong to you, particularly before strange folks, and yet you must always do it. Now, suppose it had been wrong for your father to let it be known that he knew of it, and suppose your gossip had brought him into trouble?’ ”

“ *Betty*.—‘ I should be sorry for it, but neither you nor he have said a word of its being a thing not to be known.’ ”

“ *Mother*.—‘ Very well, I’ll tell your father, when he comes home, that to whatever we say in this room we must always add: Now, this is a thing which *Betty* may gossip about at the neighbours’ doors and at the fountain, but not this and this; but of this, again, she may prate;’ ” and then you will always know what you may chatter about.’ ”

“ *Betty*.—‘ I beg your pardon, mother; I did not mean to do it so.’ ”

“ *Mother*.—‘ You have been told, once for all, that you are not to talk of anything that is no business of yours; but it is all in vain: there is no getting you of that habit except by severe means; and the very first time that I

overtake you again in any such idle gossip, I shall take to the rod.'

"The tears burst from poor Betty's eyes when her mother mentioned the rod. The mother saw it, and said to her: 'The greatest mischief, Betty, often arises out of idle gossip, and you must be cured of that fault.'

"Thus the mother discoursed with them all; even to little Kitty she said: 'You must not be so impatient again in asking for your soup, or I shall make you wait still longer, and, after all, give it to someone else.'

"All this being over, the children said their usual evening prayers, and after them the Saturday night's prayer which Gertrude had taught them.

"And after this the mother and children sat yet a little while in that silence which a true prayer always imposes.

"Betty interrupted this silence. 'You will now show us our new pennies,' said she to her mother.

"'I will,' replied the mother; 'but you are always the first to speak, Betty.'

"Niclas now jumped up from his seat, and pushed forward that he might be nearer the candle and see the new pennies better; in doing so he hurt the little baby so that it began to cry aloud.

"Then said the mother: 'Niclas, this is very bad. You promised not more than a quarter of an hour ago that you would be more careful, and now you see what you have done again.'

"*Niclas.*—'O mother, I am very sorry for it; it shall not happen any more.'

"*Mother.*—'That is what you just now promised to God Almighty, and yet you have done it again. You are not in earnest.'

"*Niclas.*—'O yes, my dear mother! I am quite in earnest. Forgive me; I am so very, very sorry.'

"*Mother.*—'So am I, my dear! but you will not remember it unless you are punished. You shall go to bed now without your supper.'

"And so saying she led him away from the others into

his chamber. His brothers and sisters were all standing about grieved, for they were sorry that poor Niclas should go without his supper.

“‘What a pity it is that you will not be governed by kindness!’ said the mother when she came back.

“‘Let him come out again this once,’ said the children.

“‘No, my dears; he must be got out of his thoughtless habits,’ was the mother’s reply.

“‘Well, then, we will not see the pennies till to-morrow, that he may see them with us,’ said Anne.

“‘Well spoken, Anne! said the mother; ‘he shall see them with you.’

“After this she gave the children their suppers, and then she led them to the chamber where Niclas was still crying.

“‘Be very careful another time, my dear Niclas,’ said the mother to him.

“And Niclas: ‘Do pray forgive me, dear, dear mother; do forgive me, and kiss me. I do not want any supper.’

“And Gertrude kissed her Niclas, and a burning tear flowed down her cheek upon her face, when she said to him: ‘O Niclas, Niclas, do try to become more careful.’ And Niclas threw both his arms round her neck, and said: ‘O mother, mother, forgive me!’

“And Gertrude once more blessed her children, and then she returned to her room.

“She was now quite alone. A small lamp, shed its feeble rays through the apartment, and her heart was still in silent prayer, which, without words, inexpressibly moved her soul. The feeling of God and of His goodness, the hope of life everlasting, the sense of that internal joy and peace which dwells in those who trust in their Heavenly Father—all this stirred her soul, and she sank down on her knees, and a stream of tears flowed down over her cheeks.”

“CHRISTOPHER AND ELIZABETH”

[*The Leonard and Gertrude story was a great success, but the people were more interested in the tale than in the moral. In order to make the moral clear, Pestalozzi published a commentary in the shape of evening conversations in the family of a farmer, where Leonard and Gertrude was read chapter by chapter and talked about. This chapter (the fourteenth evening) is typical. Perhaps it should also be said that nobody read Christopher and Elizabeth, much to its author's disappointment.]*

“‘ THIS is my chapter, father !’ said Elizabeth, when Christopher had finished the twelfth chapter of our book ;¹ ‘ a pious mother who herself teaches her children seems to me to be the finest sight on earth.’

“‘ It is a very different one from a schoolroom, at all events,’ said Josiah.

“‘ *Eliza*.—‘ I did not mean to say that schools are not very good.’

“‘ *Christopher*.—‘ Nor would I allow myself to think so.’

“‘ *Josiah*.—‘ Well, and it is true, after all, that nothing of what the schoolmaster can say will ever reach the children’s hearts in the same way as what their parents teach them ; and, generally speaking, I am sure that there is not in school-going all the good that people fancy there is.’

“‘ *Christopher*.—‘ I am afraid, Josiah, we must say to thee as to the old cobbler, “ Stick to your last.” We ought to thank God for all the good there is in the world ; and as for the schools in the country, we can’t thank Him enough for them.’

“‘ *Josiah*.—‘ Well spoken, master. It is well that there are schools, and God forbid that I should be ungrateful

¹ This chapter represents Gertrude in the midst of her children, teaching them at the same time that they are engaged in spinning.

for any good that is done to us. But, with all this, I think that he must be a fool who, having plenty at home, runs about begging ; and that is the very thing which our village folks do, by forgetting all the good lessons which they might teach their children at home, and instead thereof sending them every day to gather up the dry crumbs which are to be got in our miserable schools. I am sure that is not quite as it ought to be.'

"*Christopher.*—'Nor is it, perhaps, quite as you have put it.'

"*Josiah.*—'Nay, master ! but look it in the face, and thou'lt surely see it the same as I do. That which parents can teach their children is always what they stand most in need of in life ; and it is a pity that parents should neglect this, by trusting in the words which the schoolmaster makes them get by heart. It is true they may be good and wise words, and have an excellent meaning to them, but, after all, they are only words, and, coming from the mouth of a stranger, they don't come half as near home as father's or mother's words.'

"*Christopher.*—'I cannot see what thou wouldest be at, Josiah.'

"*Josiah.*—'Look, master ! The great point in bringing up a child is that he should be well brought up for his own house ; he must learn to know and handle and use those things on which his bread and his quiet will depend through life ; and it seems to me very plain that fathers and mothers can teach it much better than any schoolmaster can do it in his school. The schoolmaster, no doubt, tells the children of a great many things which are right and good, but they are never worth as much in his mouth as in the mouth of an upright father or a pious mother. The schoolmaster, for instance, will tell the child to fear God, and to honour his father and mother, for such is the word of God ; but the child understands little of what he says, and mostly forgets it again before he comes home. But if at home his father gives him milk and bread, and his mother denies herself a morsel, that she may give it to him, the child feels and under-

stands that he ought to honour his father and mother, who are so kind to him, and he will not forget his father's word, which tells him that such is the word of God, as easily as the empty word of the schoolmaster. In the same way, if the child is told at school to be merciful, and to love his neighbour as himself, he gets the text by heart, and perhaps thinks of it for a few days, till the nice words slip again from his memory. But at home he sees a poor neighbour's wife calling in upon his mother, lamenting over her misery, her hunger, and nakedness ; he sees her pale countenance, her emaciated and trembling figure, the very image of wretchedness ; his heart throbs, his tears flow ; he lifts up his eyes full of grief and anxiety to his mother, as if he himself was starving ; his mother goes to fetch some refreshments for the poor sufferer, in whose looks the child now reads comfort and reviving hope ; his anguish ceases, his tears flow no longer, he approaches her with a smiling face ; at last his mother returns, and her gift is received with sobs of gratitude, which draw fresh tears from the child's eyes. Here, then, he learns what it is to be merciful and to love one's neighbour. He learns it, without the aid of words, by the real fact ; he sees mercy itself, instead of learning words about mercy. . . .

“ Christopher.—‘ I must own I begin to think you are not quite mistaken in saying that too much value is put upon the schoolmaster's teaching.’

“ Josiah.—‘ Of course, master ! If you send your sheep up into the mountain, you rely upon their being well kept by the shepherd who is paid for it, and you do not think of running about after them yourself ; but if you have them at home in your own stables, you look after them yourself. Now, it is just the same thing with the school ; only there is this difference, that it is easy to get for the sheep, pasture which is infinitely better than the food they have in the stable ; but it is not so easy to find a school in which the children are better taught than they might be at home. The parents' teaching is the kernel of wisdom, and the schoolmaster's business is

only to make a husk over it, and that even is a great chance whether it turn out well.'

"*Eliza*.—'Why, Josiah, you make one's brains whirl all round, about one's children. I think I see now what you are at; and I fancy many a poor ignorant mother who now sends her children to school, without thinking anything about it, merely because it is the custom to do so, would be very glad to be taught better.'

"*Josiah*.—'There is yet another part of the story, master. What helps the common people to get through the world, you know, and to have their daily bread and a cheerful heart, is nothing else but good sense and natural understanding; and I have never found in all my life a useful man who was what they call a good scholar. The right understanding with the common people is, as it were, free and easy, and shows itself always in the proper place and season; so that a man's words don't fit but at the very moment when they are spoken, and a quarter of an hour before or after they would not fit at all. But the school understanding brings in all manner of sayings which are fit at all times, in summer and winter, in hot and cold, in Lent and at Easter; and that is the reason why this school understanding does not do any good to common people, who must regulate themselves according to times and seasons; and that is the reason, again, why their natural understandings which are in them ought to be drawn out more. And for this there are no better teachers than the house, and the father's and mother's love, and the daily labour at home and all the wants and necessities of life. But if the children must needs be sent to school, the schoolmaster should at least be an open-hearted, cheerful, affectionate, and kind man, who would be as a father to the children—a man made on purpose to open children's hearts and their mouths, and to draw forth their understandings as it were from the hindermost corner. In most schools, however, it is just the contrary: the schoolmaster seems as if he was made on purpose to shut up children's mouths and hearts, and to bury their good understandings ever

so deep underground. That is the reason why healthy and cheerful children, whose hearts are full of joy and gladness, hardly ever like school. Those that show best at school are the children of whining hypocrites or of conceited parish-officers; stupid dunces, who have no pleasure with other children; these are the bright ornaments of schoolrooms, who hold up their heads among the other children like the wooden king in the ninepins among his eight fellows. But if there is a boy who has too much good sense to keep his eyes for hours together fixed upon a dozen letters which he hates; or a merry girl, who, while the schoolmaster discourses of spiritual life, has all kinds of fun with her hands under the desk, the schoolmaster, in his wisdom, decides that these are the goats who care not for their everlasting salvation. . . .

“Thus spoke good Josiah, in the overflowing of his zeal, against the nonsense of village schools, and his master and mistress grew more and more attentive to what he said.”

“LEONARD AND GERTRUDE”

(Part III., Chapters XIX. and LXIV.)

[Pestalozzi turned his hand to the continuation of his story. Three further volumes appeared, the last two being concerned with projects of reform—educational and legislative. The squire has dismissed his agent. A friend of his volunteers to become schoolmaster. It is first necessary for him to understand the life of the village. To that end, he and the squire visit the employers and the homes of the people. The chief employers of labour are farmers who combine agriculture with spinning. Meyer is a case in point. The visit to Gertrude’s house and the first day of the new school are described in the text which form Chapters XIX. and LXIV. of Part III. of Leonard and Gertrude.]

THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES IN A GOOD SCHOOL.

"THE squire, since his return from his visit to the farmer, has passed every minute which he could steal from his other duties with the lieutenant, in order to talk over arrangements which they wished to make in connection with their new school. They both thought that the best education on earth which a child could receive was one which would teach him to look after and manage methodically those things which would most likely be his when he was grown up. It would teach him how to use these things for his own good and for the welfare of those dear to him. This excellent aim of all education seemed to them, without more ado, the very first thing to be considered in establishing a school on common-sense principles.

"In this connection they saw clearly that the lieutenant, and everyone who wished to establish a suitable school for farmers and cotton-spinners, must themselves know and understand what farmers and cotton-spinners ought to know and ought to be able to do—i.e., if they are to be satisfactory farmers and cotton-spinners. If the would-be schoolmasters do not possess this knowledge themselves, they must be ready to go and ask for instruction from those people who do know and are able to help them. They naturally thought first of all of the farmer spinner, and went to see him immediately after the meal at which this conversation had taken place. 'This is the man I have talked to you so much about,' said the squire to the lieutenant; then, turning to the farmer, he said: 'And this is a gentleman who, I hope, will be able to comfort you concerning your school.' The cotton-spinner did not understand the meaning of this speech, but the squire explained matters to him, and said that the gentleman was going to be their schoolmaster. The cotton-spinner could not find words to express his astonishment at this, but said that, if the gentleman was really willing to take so much trouble, they would never

be able to thank him sufficiently ; but it would need time before he would be able to get a thorough understanding of the manners and customs of their village life. ' I can quite believe that,' said the lieutenant ; ' but one must begin some time ; and I will spare no trouble in trying to find out what is really necessary for your children, and what they ought to learn, in order to fulfil their duties as farmers or cotton-spinners in a thoroughly satisfactory way.'

" *The Farmer.*—' That is a fine thing for you to do, to wish to begin in that way.'

" *The Lieutenant.*—' I had no notion of beginning in any other way. Moreover, whenever I have an occasion, I shall try to get some idea of every sort of domestic and outdoor work, in order that I may really understand on what sort of pattern your children should be turned out, if they are to be properly educated for their work and position in life.'

" Marelli was quite at home with him ; he pointed out to him everywhere in the house, in the cowsheds, and all round about, what the children must be taught, and what they must do, if they were to learn to manage everything properly ; he got them to hoe the garden, dig up the ground, climb on to the platform, make food for the animals. The more the lieutenant saw, the more questions he asked. He even wanted to know how they computed the tithes, how they estimated the wages for the cotton-spinning, what difference there was between the returns made by cotton and by wool, and a hundred other similar matters. They explained everything as well as they could. Finally he wished to have the children taught spinning, too, but Marelli said to him : ' We only take in some few hundredweights of yarn during the year, and I have never succeeded in getting the children to spin really well : in truth, I cannot altogether complain ; they have a great deal to do in the fields and attending to the cattle, and there is never any good yarn to be had. But if you want to see a well-arranged spinnery you should go and visit the wife of the stonemason ; there you will

find something really worth seeing as regards cotton-spinning, but here there is nothing.'

"'Is the mason's wife of whom you speak called Gertrude?' asked the lieutenant. 'Ah! it seems that you know her already,' replied Marelli. 'No, but the squire has persuaded me to go straight from your house to see her,' said the lieutenant. 'Ah, you see, then, that I have given you good advice,' said Marelli.

"The foundation of a good school is the same as the foundation of all human happiness, and it is nothing less than the true wisdom of life.

"Her room was so full when they entered that they could scarcely make their way in for spinning. Gertrude, who was not by any means expecting strangers when she opened the door, bade the children stand up and make room; but the squire would not allow any of them to move from their places, and offered his hand to the pastor and to the lieutenant in turn, in order to guide them along the wall behind the children's backs, to their seats at the table. You can have no idea how delighted these gentlemen were with this room. What they had seen at the farmer's seemed to them nothing at all in comparison. This was natural enough. When a rich man's estate is well ordered and in a prosperous condition, we are not much impressed; we simply think that other people could not do the same for lack of money. On the other hand, when we find prosperity and well-being in a poor cottage, it proves incontestably that it would be well with everybody, if their affairs were well ordered and methodical, and if everybody had been well brought up. The sight makes a great, even an astounding impression on the mind. Now these gentlemen had a whole room full of such poor children before their eyes, in all the enjoyment of domestic bliss.

"For a few moments it seemed to the squire as if he actually saw, in a vision before him, a living picture of the first-born of those future generations for whom he was planning an improved education. The lieutenant's falcon eyes flashed like lightning round the room, passing from child to child, from hand to hand, from work to work,

from eye to eye ; and the more he saw, the more his heart swelled with the thought that here, in Gertrude's room, was the school they had been looking for, and that she had already performed and accomplished what they were aspiring to do. For some time there was a deathlike stillness in the room, for the visitors could do nothing but gaze and gaze in speechless silence. During this silent period the lieutenant showed various signs of respect for Gertrude, which seemed to border almost on reverence, and these, combined with the stillness in the room, made her heart beat fast. But the children continued to spin away happily, and shot merry glances at each other, for they saw that the gentlemen were there on their account, and were regarding their work.

" The first question which the lieutenant asked was : ' Are these all your children, Frau Gertrude ? ' ' No, they are not all mine,' said Gertrude, and, pointing from one wheel to another, she indicated which were Rudi's and which were hers. ' Just think, lieutenant,' said the pastor, ' only four weeks ago none of Rudi's children could spin a thread.' The lieutenant gazed at the pastor and at Frau Gertrude. ' Is it possible ? ' he said. ' It is quite true,' answered Gertrude. ' A child ought to be able to learn to spin well in a few weeks ; I have known some who have learnt in a few days.' ' It is not that, but something quite different, which surprises me most in this room,' said the squire. ' These children look so different now from what they did three or four weeks ago when Frau Gertrude first took them in, that in good truth I should not have recognized them as the same. At that time their countenances expressed the most utter misery and all the horrors of a living death, but now all that has been wiped out, and no traces of their former wretchedness are to be seen.' ' But what does she do to the children, then ? ' asked the lieutenant in French. ' God only knows,' said the squire. Then the pastor went on : ' When you spend the whole day with her, you hear no sound and see no sign of anything extraordinary ; you feel sure that any other woman could do exactly the same,

and, truly, it would never occur to the most ordinary woman in the village that Frau Gertrude was doing or could do anything that she could not do.' 'You could say nothing which would exalt her more in my eyes,' said the lieutenant. 'Art is most perfect when its presence is entirely unsuspected, and the highest and most sublime things are so simple that children and young people always imagine they can do something much better.'

"While the gentlemen were talking French with one another, the children began to laugh and to exchange glances, and Heirli and the child who sat opposite to him started to screw their mouths up, and mumble 'French! French!' to one another. But Gertrude had only to give a sign, and everything was immediately quiet again. As the lieutenant noticed books lying beside all the spinning-wheels, he asked Gertrude what they did with them. She looked at him, and said: 'Why, they learn out of them!' 'But surely not while they are spinning?' 'Yes, certainly,' said Gertrude. 'I should like to see that,' said the lieutenant, and the squire also put in a word. 'Yes, you must show us that, Gertrude.' 'Children, take your books in your hands and learn your lessons,' she said. 'Aloud, as usual?' asked the children. 'Yes, aloud as usual, but correctly too,' said Gertrude. Then the children opened their books, and each one turned to the page marked, and began to learn the lesson which he had been given to learn that day, but the wheels went on as before though the children's eyes were all glued to their books.

"The lieutenant was never tired of seeing all these things, and he begged Gertrude to show them all that the children did and all that she taught them. She tried to excuse herself, saying that it was nothing at all, and that the gentlemen must know a thousand times better than she did what to do; but when the squire also begged her to do as she was requested, she at once told the children to close their books, and began to go over a passage with them which was to be learnt by heart. This time it was a portion of the song which begins:

“ ‘Of the warm sun, so soft and mild,
How fair, how lovely, are the rays !
They cheer our eyes, refresh our hearts,
And bring us comfort all our days.’ ”

“ The third verse, which they were to learn now, ran as follows :

“ ‘Gone is the sun, as all the pride
And splendour of this world must go ;
The Lord of Heaven just speaks one word,
And straight the mighty are brought low.’ ”

“ Slowly and clearly she repeated one line of the verse after another, and the children said it just as clearly and slowly after her. She continued to repeat it until at last one said : ‘ I can say it now.’ Then she made him say the verse alone, and, as it was perfectly correct, she told him to recite it to the others, while they repeated it after him until they all knew it. Then she also sang with them the first three verses of this song, for they had already learnt the first two. After all this she showed the gentlemen how she taught the children arithmetic, and that was also the simplest and most practical way that one can imagine ; but I will say more about this another time.

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION.

“ On the following morning, then, the school began. I should not, however, like to advise any other school-master to do what this one did, first to make an announcement on the Sunday which everyone considered presumptuous, and then to allow his school on the Monday to be organized by a peasant woman. Nevertheless, if one is a Glüphi one may do so, and no harm will come of it—but I mean a real Glüphi and not one in imagination. He made Gertrude arrange the children in the same order as if she had had them in her own home. When they crowded together she separated them, according to their ages or their work, and placed her own children and those

of Rudi, who were already accustomed to her methods, all in different parts of the room amongst the others. She put the little ones who did not yet know their alphabet in front and nearest to the table. Behind these she put those who were learning to spell, then those who could nearly read, and in the back row those who could read quite well. For the first row she put, this morning, only three letters on the blackboard, and made one of these children say them over. When he could say it quite correctly, the others had to repeat it after him; then she changed the order of the letters, and wrote them now as capitals, now as small letters, on the board, and left them there the whole morning before their eyes. She used this method of transposing the letters also with those who were learning to spell, and those who could nearly read had to spell with them. But the latter and all those who could read properly had to keep their books open on their spinning-wheels in front of them, and had to repeat, in a low tone, whatever was read aloud to them by one of their number. And not one of them could be certain that she would not suddenly call upon him to go on.

"She had taken a woman called Margaret with her to manage the handwork, and it was arranged, that she should come to school every day to look after this, for it was impossible for Gertrudo to do so. Margaret was a woman whose equal it would be hard to find. As soon as any child's hand or wheel stopped working she was at his side, and she did not leave him till hand and wheel were again in motion. Most of the children took home with them that evening some of the work they had done, and their mothers could hardly believe that they had really done it alone and unaided. Several of the children, however, answered their remarks by saying: 'Yes, but there is a difference in the way Margaret shows us how to do things. You could not do it as well.' They were just as ready to sing the praises of the lieutenant, for he conducted the school in the afternoon, and Gertrude sat and looked on, just as he did in the morning while she was teaching. Things went on so well that she said to him:

‘If I had known that it would not take me more than two hours a day to help you in managing your school, I should not have been so unwilling when you asked me to do so last Thursday.’ He also was very glad to find that things went so well. That evening he gave all the children over seven years of age a sheet of paper and a few pens to take home with them, and each child found his name beautifully written in printed characters on his sheet of paper. They were never tired of gazing at them, and one after the other came to ask him how they were made. He then showed them, and for quite a quarter of an hour he wrote out big capital letters resembling printed ones. They thought it all so beautiful that they would have been quite willing for him to have gone on writing till the next day, and they asked wonderingly if they were to learn to write like that. His reply was: ‘The more you try to learn to write beautifully, the more pleased I shall be.’ Just as they were leaving he called out to them to take care of their paper, and to stick the points of their pens into rotten apples, for that was the best way of preserving them. Several children answered: ‘Yes, if we only had some rotten apples left, but winter is over now!’ He laughed at this, and said to them: ‘If you have none, perhaps I shall be able to get some for you. I think the pastor’s wife has more rotten apples than she cares about.’ But others said: ‘No, no, no! We will bring some; we still have some left.’”

“ENQUIRIES CONCERNING THE COURSE OF NATURE
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HUMAN RACE”

PESTALOZZI himself tells us that he had spent three years over this book when it appeared in 1797. The plan was, however, much older. In 1781-1783 he was busy writing *The Evening Hours of a Hermit*, the first part of *Leonard and Gertrude*, the commentary thereon (*Christopher and Elizabeth*), and *Legislation on Child-Murder*. All this

literary work concerned the condition of the labouring classes, and he wrote in 1793 to the Austrian Minister, Karl von Zinzendorf : " My work on the education of the children of the poor and on the treatment of criminals is carrying me so far that I tremble before what is involved. The effects of our social organization on the poorer classes, and its complete opposition to native human forces, must be put into a much clearer light than it is at present, if we are ever to approach perfection in these matters, and especially in respect of legislation upon them ; nevertheless, in spite of much uncertainty, I will try to put together various scattered ideas which seem to me to throw light on the subject."

Two years later (1785), when the third part of *Leonard and Gertrude* had already appeared, he wrote again to the same Zinzendorf : " Your approval encourages me greatly to proceed to the fourth part of my book—the more so as this part will bring me to my plan of setting out more clearly than has yet been done, the general theory of the direction in which mankind is moving, in the shape of a study of the characteristic impulses of our nature, and the actual history of those things which have so far contributed to man's happiness or misery." Here we have the fundamental idea of the book.

Nevertheless, it was ten years later that he seriously took up the task. In the meantime he had been busy revising *Leonard and Gertrude*, and writing political pamphlets, the most important of which (*Ja oder Nein*), a discussion of the political principles of the French Revolution, remained in manuscript for nearly a century. It was Fichte who persuaded him to put that manuscript in his desk until he had given literary form to his fundamental principles.

His book was a failure from the publisher's standpoint, but Pestalozzi always regarded it as one of his most important writings. It represented his fundamental point of view, the justice and soundness of which he maintained to the end. It permeates all his educational writings ; indeed, without a knowledge of his

general standpoint it is often impossible to understand him.

The book is so completely Pestalozzi's own that it is not very useful to probe into its sources. Rousseau's influence is obvious. We know, of course, that Pestalozzi had read both the *Emile* and Rousseau's social studies, and had been much impressed by them. Fichte also probably discussed social problems with him. The German philosopher, not yet attained to distinction, had married a friend of Pestalozzi's wife. He was lecturing in Zurich during the winter session 1793-94, and often visited Pestalozzi, who was then living in the neighbourhood (Richtersweil). Their conversations were mainly on political, social, and educational questions. They were thinking and writing about the same things. Fichte was defending the French Revolution, and pleading for freedom of thought: Pestalozzi had written his *Ja oder Nein*.

A mysterious third person also contributed actively to these discussions. Of his identity, however, nothing certain is known. The book is dedicated to some *Hochgeborenen*, who has often discussed political and social questions with the author. Hunziker thinks the evidence points to Professor Fellenberg, the father of Daniel Fellenberg, whose school at Hofwyl gained world-wide fame. Fellenberg was then a magistrate, and a neighbour of Pestalozzi, and we know that they were on terms of intimacy. Seyffarth, however, suggests von Tscharner, who by common consent is the man on whom the Squire of Bonnal was modelled.

As it is not possible to give the whole text of the book, a brief analysis of certain parts will show its general structure, and place the translated extracts in their proper setting.

I.

INTRODUCTORY—THE PROBLEM ANALYZED.

The psychological development of the individual takes the same course as that of the race. This is the fundamental position from which he proceeds to ask:

“ What am I, and what is man ?

“ What have I done, and what is man doing ?

“ What has my actual life made of me, what is man's life making of him ?

“ What fundamental principles actually determine my actions and my way of looking at things ?

“ What fundamental principles actually determine the actions and the point of view of the race ?”

To answer these questions, Pestalozzi proposes to appeal to experience, and to experience alone. “ I can and must consider nothing but the truth as I find it in my own life,” a procedure which he thinks will bring him into close touch with the characteristic experiences of a large proportion of mankind. Such, then, is his problem, and his method is in the main psychological. Reflection on these lines suggests the following as an outline scheme of the course of social development :

“ Man's helplessness in the state of Nature provokes forethought, knowledge.

“ Forethought leads him to seek to gain advantage over others.

“ Advantage over others leads to ownership.

“ Possession of property leads to society.

“ Society leads to landed property, power, honour.

“ Honour and power lead to subjection, control.

“ Subjection and control lead to class divisions—kings, nobles, servants.

“ Hence man arrives at legal rights.

“ Legal rights give the freedom of the citizen.

“ Want of them brings tyranny and slavery.

“ But there is in man a kindly disposition which ennobles all these things that attach to social life, without which, indeed, all the advantages to be gained from it would be worth nothing.

“ This kindly disposition is in its origin sensory—it belongs to my primitive animal nature ; yet I also recognize within me the power to ennable and exalt it to the level of love.

“ But this love is endangered through my native selfish-

ness ; and if it goes, then indeed I am lost. I look, therefore, beyond the limits of knowledge to the very sources of my life, to religion, and try with its help to fight against my natural weakness."

3. He then proceeds to examine each of these steps in the "natural history" of man—to trace its origin, its crystallization, and its subsequent transformation.

4. After the examination of this series of sections, as it were, across the course of man's progress, he gives a full-length picture of his development, beginning with his primitive condition and ending with the present : " Primitive man leaves his cave with a timid rather than a savage step. He finds a stone that is too heavy, a branch that is too high for him ; he feels, if only another man were there, he might lift that stone, reach that branch ; he sees another man near . . . he approaches his brother, and in his eye a new look beams ; it is the thought that they can help each other . . . their hands are joined, they lift the stone, they reach the branch . . . they see what they can do together. They enjoy this new knowledge ; it brings new power ; the bonds between them are multiplied, and their voice breaks into language. . . . It was language which made men subject to laws of their own making."

Thus, in distinct opposition to Rousseau, he makes the step from primitive to social man one of necessity. They are not opposite conditions, but the one is a modification of the other. And, as the origin of power lies in the natural inequalities of men, the misuse of power in primitive Nature is transplanted from the very beginning to the social stage. " Not power, but the man who wields it, is guilty of the degradation of the race." " Enthralled by a power which knows no law against itself, man sinks back into all the helplessness and obtuseness of his natural corruption ; and the general spread of Sansculottism leads to the break up of social bonds."

He passes now to the chief argument of his book :

" How is it that my fellow-men for the most part pass their lives in such misery, without any rights of their own, and in utter degradation, whilst here and there

individuals rise to a noteworthy level of comfort and of morality? I must find an answer to this question, or life as I know it will remain for me an insoluble enigma.

"On reflection I soon found that men are the creatures of circumstances, but at the same time I felt that, after all, men make their own circumstances; they have within them the power to bend circumstance in large measure to their will. In so far as man uses this power, he takes a share in determining, not only himself, but also the things which influence him. I tried then to come to grips with this mixture of capricious external control and individual freedom which seems to be characteristic of life, and asked myself, *What am I, then, in reality? How comes man to be what he actually is?* Is it of his own free will that a boy goes early in the morning to his work, and stops there all day long till the sun goes down and his limbs ache? If the peasant had what he wished, would he, day and year through, freeze and sweat alternately in the fields and the woods as he does? The merchant and the artisan, would they be tied to the desk or the bench all day long if they had not been driven to it from their youth upward? I think not. If they were really free to do as they would, they would surely follow restful and joyful occupation; they would trouble about nobody but themselves; they would live their lives through without care, without suffering, and without effort. Thus man is what he is because he is driven to it. He thinks, feels, and acts, differently from what he would if he were free. Nevertheless, if the compelling forces were removed, and men were left free, then all the bonds that hold men together would be burst, and nameless misery and confusion would be the result.

"Must I not, then, give up all claims to my rights to the end that order may be preserved, although I do not know whether this order is at bottom a good or an evil thing? But I do not wish to know whether the ordering of the world is good or evil. I cannot convince myself that the freedom which my soul desires would be good for me or my fellow-men, inasmuch as I could no longer

win the love of my wife, the respect of my son, the confidence of my friend, the blessings of the poor, nor the gratitude of my country.

“ Can I, then, long for primitive freedom ? Surely not. I could not bear the consequences of it if it were granted to me. Yet I cannot escape the measure of sensuousness in my nature. . . . I cannot be what I am, and share my property gladly and willingly with a man who did not help me to gather it. Yet I must do this and the like, as peasant, citizen, or artisan. And when I ask, Why am I a citizen, or a handcraftsman, or a peasant, instead of being just a man ? then I find that in all these relationships there are advantages that I cannot dispense with, and my primitive nature is not inclined to let them go for all the freedom it could get.

“ Thus my social bondage is kept up by the will of my primitive nature. Education and experience confirm this attitude. Without any thought of what I might make out of myself, or of what my fellow-men might make of me, Nature places me in the world to make the best of an instinctive existence without the help of anybody. In this simple situation my primitive instincts set up primitive feeling, thinking, and doing.

“ So soon, however, as I desire to make more of myself than Nature has made of my race, I must rise to the control of her. She cannot do that for me. Her might cannot compel me to become a good shoemaker or a good tailor. If she could, I should not be a man. I should want the true foundation of manhood. . . . There are ideals to be striven for, on the attainment of which man’s happiness rests. There are such things as truth and right, which man for the most part has not sought. He may find them when he ceases to be actuated by primitive natural motives and to trust in his physical strength. When he seeks truth, he finds it ; when he demands righteousness, it is already his.

“ In spite of this the unscrupulous struggle goes on. Treachery and faithlessness abound in every rank and in every office—amongst rulers and people, officials and

merchants, scholars and clergy. It must be that truth and right are differently conceived from different points of view. Man looks upon the world in three different ways, and builds up for himself as many different ideas of the truth. There is the truth as primitive man views it—that is, the man who lives entirely for himself. There is the truth as social man views it—that is, the man who is bound by common agreements to his fellow-men. And there is the truth as the moral man sees it—that is, the man who sees things from the standpoint of his own inner worth, apart altogether from his primitive needs and his social obligations. Similarly, there are three systems of law—for the primitive, the social, and the moral man:

“(1) The law of the primitive man, in accordance with which his demands are regulated by the direct and simple needs of his animal nature.

“(2) The law of the social man, in accordance with which his demands are regulated by the recognition of his agreements with others.

“(3) The law of the moral man, in accordance with which all things are regarded from the point of view of their effect upon his own inner worth.

“And thus, according as my ideas of truth and right issue from my natural instincts, or my social demands, or my moral strength, I am in myself of a threefold nature—animal, social, or moral; and this threefold difference in myself accounts for the fact that some of my demands are grounded on the law of the natural man, others on that of the social man, and others on that of the moral man.”

Pestalozzi now proceeds to a closer examination of the characteristics of these three stages in man's development.

“What am I—*i.e.*, what is the primitive man's point of view—as natural man?

“What am I as a member of a social organization?

“What am I as a moral personality?”

II.

MAN IN HIS PRIMITIVE CONDITION.

" In this condition, before his deterioration has begun, man is a simple child of his instincts. He gives himself up absolutely to their innocent enjoyment. He loves the gazelle and the marmot, his wife and his child, his dog and his horse. He knows not God, he knows not sin. Sunlight, forest, earth, are all dear to him as God made them. Land broken by the plough is his curse. He spends his time in sleep, in sensory pleasures. . . . He takes the stranger into his gate and feeds him, after which he asks him whence he came. . . . He exchanges his cow for a few glass beads, and he will not sell the pipe he is smoking for a whole year's income. So life passes on as long as pleasures come without effort, and security without watchfulness.

" But we call him a primitive man long after he has found it necessary to put forth effort. He practises assiduously the use of his death-carrying weapons. He thinks more of his bow than of his wife and child—but he is still a natural man.

" He kills those who stand in his way; those who yield to him must do him service. Still he is a natural man.

" The world about him trembles at his powers; his will is his neighbour's law . . . he drives his wife and his child from his cave. . . . Still we call this brutality that of the primitive man.

" He no longer reveres the earth and the rock as God made them; the earth broken by the plough is no longer accursed. He takes all the land he can get, and what he cannot use he allows others who pay for the privilege, to till.

" But now we do not call him ' primitive man.' When the ox is at the plough, and man rises with the sun in order to earn his rent, we say that he has entered society. When his relations to others become highly complicated and

troublesome, we cease to think of him as primitive man. . . .

“ But we divide the primitive stage into two periods—that of the unspoiled and that of the spoiled natural man. So long as he is an innocent child of his instincts, finding satisfaction without effort or forethought, we call him an unspoiled natural man. But when he has to struggle to achieve his pleasures, when his harmlessness and his primitive kindness disappear, we call him a ‘natural man spoiled.’ ”

“ But we extend the idea of native innocence too widely. His corruption begins earlier than we are wont to admit. We call him a ‘ child of Nature ’ still, although the range of his curiosity is already determined by considerations which are only proper to the man who belongs to a community. Through all the stages of his passage from independent innocence to the complete subordination of his instincts to the recognized laws of society—yea, right up to the point when kings, laws, force, and calling, tear mistrust up by the roots, even when he is altogether under the social yoke—we are apt to regard him as if he were still in the state of Nature.

“ What, then, constitutes his natural innocence, and when does it cease to be ? It belongs to the comfortable time when his wishes were easily satisfied—without painful effort, and without being in any way dependent on doubtful circumstances or doubtful wills. And is such a moment conceivable ? Has man ever lived in such complete ignorance of misfortune, and in such perfect independence ? ”

“ The question means: Is there a moment in which childhood is completely pure, in which the infant knows naught of misfortune, of pain, of hunger, of suffering, of care, of mistrust, of dependence, or of uncertainty ? ”

“ Certainly there is such a moment: it is that moment in which the child comes into the world. But no sooner is it there than it is passed. It is gone at his first cry. From that time onwards the child passes farther and farther away from this condition; every unsatisfied need, every

unfulfilled wish, every painful smart, is a step in this direction. In proportion to the growth of his experience he moves away from the innocence of his birth condition.

"As to the race we can only guess ; we do not know of such a period of innocence. It lasted to the point at which he first knew of evil ; his first wrong action, his first deception, began his degradation. Errors and deceit have continued to carry him farther and farther away from his primitive innocence. His corruption began when his instincts and kindly dispositions proved insufficient to guide his judgment and to give him all the help he needed. I have the consciousness within me of the reality of the time when instinct and kindly feeling sufficed. I can imagine myself once again in possession of these in their purity, just as I could imagine myself possessed once more of an arm or a leg which I had lost. I can thus imagine what I was like before my corruption began.

"Such a condition presents itself to me in two ways—what I was like before the conception of evil arose in my mind, and what I might be like if I could once again lose the impression of evil. If with this last I can combine the strength to reach after the noblest and best which I know, and which I ought to seek, then my picture of innocence represents the perfection for which I strive. This is the basis of my moral self. It could, however, never be the basis of a social law. . . .

"Without the consciousness of evil, neither the idea of law nor the feeling of law can enter my mind without causing suffering. Thus every idea of law is a social idea, and the feeling of law is a social feeling, and thus the idea of natural rights, strictly interpreted, is an illusion. But we are accustomed to call those ideas of social law which belong to times in close proximity to those of the primitive condition of man in its wider interpretation, 'natural rights.'

"But the conception of natural rights comes from a feeling that the institutions and arrangements of socially

organized life ought to rest on principles which harmonize with man's unspoiled primitive nature. We wish, that is to say, that our idea of right and duty should rest on grounds that do not controvert the noblest and best that we are in a position to know. This will in us is the source of what we call 'natural rights.'

" But the so-called 'natural rights' are not the source of this will. There is no trace of them in the primitive man's motive to self-maintenance. The idea comes about in this way: stirred by the strongest of all motives, primitive man opposes everything which he thinks will endanger his well-being—thus he learns to know the dangers that surround him; experience teaches him that other men in the social organization are capable of behaving towards him in a way which is repugnant to his own primitive good-nature, of which some traces still remain. So he conceives the idea that it would be a good thing if nobody had such behaviour to fear.

" When the primitive man sees the body of the slain at his door, he cannot help thinking that it might have been himself, and it occurs to him how good it would be if men did not kill each other. This thought in combination with his primitive good-nature brings him into the state of mind in which man, from purely selfish motives, conceived the social law, 'Thou shalt not kill.' But he gives it up whenever he feels strongly that his own safety is endangered.

" This commandment and all others that arise from so-called 'natural rights' is surely not the result of any primitive feeling of any right whatever, other than the fundamental one of self-preservation. A motive of this kind is purely individual, however; without social experience it is as free from any feeling of participation as it is from any feeling of rights or wrongs. It becomes participatory in its nature in so far as social experiences, through a combination of our selfishness and our kindness, make it so. The feeling of natural rights thus, obviously, arises from a sense of danger; uneasiness of this sort leads us to feel the want of law in the world and at the same

time it dawns upon us that we can make law ourselves if we will.

“ This is also true of the social contract: At first we only realize that there is no such contract in Nature, but that if we wished we might introduce one. The feeling of wrongful suffering is the ground on which the idea of law unfolds in men’s minds. Therefore the individual character of this feeling is of the first importance ; his conception of truth and law is entirely a result of the purity of this feeling.

“ If the impression of wrongful suffering is united with kindness and with an effort towards perfection, pure ideas of truth and law are engendered in me. I can do nothing else but hold out a friendly hand to my fellows. But if this is not the case, the slightest sense of wrong drives me to the worst horrors of which my nature is capable. Primitive man and social man allows himself any wrong to protect himself against wrong. So the representative of society, the government itself, does the same thing, when it is afraid of wrong being done against itself.

“ Social training as such does not protect me from the consequences of my primitive selfishness. Only as a moral being can I actually prefer to suffer wrong than do wrong myself.

III.

WHAT AM I AS A MEMBER OF A SOCIAL ORDER ?

“ The social condition of man is in its essence that of the primitive man with certain restrictions placed upon him. Man does not, however, accept such limitations until he is forced, and until his primitive simplicity and good-nature are much corrupted. His object in making the change is to soften the consequences of his corruption, and to enable him to satisfy the needs of his primitive nature more easily and completely than he could in his state of freedom. He uses the same means to that end—namely, his primitive animal strength.

" But this primitive source of power has been already weakened by his corruption, nor does the social organization restore it. On the contrary, it destroys the harmless contentment and simple rules of conduct of the primitive condition ; even while it multiplies our pleasures, it increases our burdens, and emphasizes the difference between man and man to the point of bitterness. In fine, man does not get what he hoped for from his new position.

" Simple enjoyment is the lot of primitive man ; hoping and waiting are the lot of man in society. This is inevitable, for society rests upon things that are not really there—that is, upon symbols. Property, earnings, vocation, public authority, laws, are all artifices designed to make up for want of freedom. Property is the symbol of my native capacity to maintain myself ; authority symbolizes my primitive capacity to protect myself. What its talons are to the eagle so is the needle to the tailor, the pen to the writer, the scissors to the draper, his cattle to the farmer, his land to the nobleman, and his throne to the king.

" What a difference, however, between primitive man living at his ease among his roots, and the modern man who is driving a half per cent. bargain with the money-lender, or quarrelling with his agent about an additional expenditure of a hundred pounds a year among a hundred labourers. . . . Primitive man knew not what he was losing when he took the step. He was seeking primitive pleasures, and he lost infinitely in this regard. The discomfort of the life he left is the very basis of the life into which he stumbled. He wished to restore the charm of his old life. To that end one man becomes a tailor, another a student, another drives a team across the mountains, another is a woodman, and another becomes a barber ; one man seeks the old charm by using his head, another by his emotional life. . . . These differences are the countless sources of discomfort. The student has an ungainly stoop, the smith is stronger in his arms than in his legs, the tailor is bow-legged, and the peasant walks

with the grace of an ox. Whether he will or no, man is driven into occupations which make such disproportionate demands upon his various powers.

" This tendency goes so far that governments are preparing a census of their subjects from the point of view of their special faculties—how many have specially good ears, how many are talented speakers, writers, wind-bags ! It does not matter that these fractional specimens of humanity are lame in all other respects—an attitude which has a pernicious effect upon man's powers in their entirety.

" This sort of one-sidedness produces the peculiar feelings of *esprit de corps* in every rank—that of patricians, noblemen, and statesmen, and that of each special type of citizen arrogance with which men protect their primitive standing in the social organization. . . . The greater their power, the stronger is the impulse of their native selfishness to assert their power with violence. The evil increases in proportion to the freedom which is given to man's primitive powers. It is only their limited physical strength that prevents men from becoming barbarians, and their limited intellectual powers that prevent them from becoming tyrants.

" Obviously, society weakens man's primitive good-nature. . . . The social condition of man is a mere continuation of the war of each against all, and all against each, that begins with the corruption of the primitive state. Moreover, the war is waged at far greater cost of human suffering. Social man as such stands upon the blood of his instincts, and on the grave of his good-nature, as a murderer on the blood of his victims ; whoever he was, the victim no longer counts, and the murderer counts how much money there is in his purse. The typical social man hates the smallest trace of primitive good-will in his institutions. All his efforts are directed to put such influences entirely out of count, and when he accepts the principle that good-will is as mischievous in public affairs as the forcible control of the people is right in the state, then he is completely in line. The rule is based on the

inevitable ruin which the social organization brings upon our primitive nature.

“Unhappily, it is as much the popular view as it is that of the government. It is only with great reservations that we can affirm: ‘Confidence in the government must exist among the people—without it no government can exist’; much less can we say: ‘The government must itself trust the people, otherwise it cannot stand.’ It is certainly not necessary, in a well-organized state, that the people should have confidence in the personnel of the government; but if the object of the social order is to be achieved, it is necessary that the people should have confidence in the law which stands, or should stand, between him and the administrator.

“But the selfishness of men in authority leads them to think always of making the most of their positions. . . . At present it is as if a father had left his property to his eldest son, with the pious hope that he would provide adequately for the wants of his portionless brothers and sisters. The governmental administration stands to the people in the same relation as the eldest son to the rest of that family. The people have no rights at law.

“When a people is without rights, it is dangerous even to put the matter frankly forward; but if it has rights and legal forms, then we may with advantage consider the position. In general, law promotes man’s betterment, as its absence degrades him. Moral depravity deepens in proportion to the absence of law. There can in such circumstances be no real confidence on either side. Those in power know this well, and laugh at the idea of having confidence in the people. . . .

“Social man does not know when he is acting selfishly. He always assigns lofty motives to his actions. Authority is similarly unable to recognize the primitive motives which prompt its activity. It says it does not hate popular rights, but their ignorant misuse, and even this is not for its own sake, but for the sake of the public welfare. It says that everybody should have all the rights he desires if only it were feasible, but it would be fatal to

yield weakly to popular clamour or to allow the feeling of the need of citizen independence, and even the appearance of legal security, to spread at all widely."

Then follows a discussion of "social" developments in France under Louis XVI. and his successors.

"Lawless Authority believes that she herself is the law, that law and justice spring from her, as eggs come from the hen.

"'Social' law regards truth and loyalty as a mutual duty of all men in the group. In France, Authority said that all owed loyalty to herself, but she owed it to none. . . .

"Social law regards the independence of the state as resting on the independence of the citizens, and the wealth of the state on the secure well-being of its individual members. But lawless authority founds the independence of the state on the facile obedience of a people without any rights, and the national wealth on the ease with which it can dip into the pockets of the citizens. . . .

"Our primitive nature when possessed of enormous social power cannot fail to misunderstand its true relation to other men. . . . Man in whom his primitive feelings have full play is unfitted to rule men in a socially just way. He can only do that when the law sets definite limits to his power. . . .

"Man enters the social relation either because he is compelled by his animal helplessness, or voluntarily, because of his overwhelming power. In the first case he is timid and docile; in the other, cold, arrogant, lustful of power, and impatient of all opposition. In either case he is fundamentally the same as he was when the corruption of his primitive nature began.

"His social habits cannot crush the dispositions that belong to his primitive nature. Even where there are kings and soldiers, vocations and laws, where instinct seems entirely gone, men still love their domestic animals, their pets, and their children. To put thought aside and to sink into dreams is the great charm of life. What is new and what is brilliant is loved best. . . . In every

land you will find men who will not give up a pipe of tobacco for a year's income.

"Not even the art of kings can give a different turn to life's essential character. Man in society will always be changed by its advantages and disadvantages, just as the advantages and disadvantages of Nature change him. Wealth makes him careless, just as does the enjoyment of Nature's bounty ; the fundamentals of human nature are not changed in the social order. Man as such is only an animal, and as animals men are always the same. Even the independence which he claims in his group is in keeping with the liveliness of his primitive feelings.

"Social law certainly separates the demands of my primitive nature from those of my social obligations ; but my nature does not separate them, and, as social law cannot bind my nature, it follows that my primitive nature swallows up my social obligations, and finally attaches the notion of citizen independence to the selfish feelings that belong to our particular position. Our hearts are hardened against all real social truth and justice, and amidst the maddest demands for dissolute social pleasures we fling away the basis of citizen law—the individual independence of the citizen—as we should a worthless tool. It is sold for any sensory pleasure. The poor man does it for bread, the rich man for some less worthy toy. . . .

"Primitive natural freedom and social law are ever at war. The king and the revolutionary, the noble and the Jew, the patrician and the free man, all struggle for the monopoly of this freedom against all others.

"Social law and citizen independence depend, therefore, upon so arranging the vocational training that it exercises a repressive influence on our primitive nature ; but this, of course, means influencing my primitive feelings in favour of the social order, a result which can only be achieved through deception. Man must not suspect that his primitive nature is being weakened ; he must think you are giving him that which in truth you are only leaving behind ; he must not know what you are taking away, nor

what you make him suffer ; you must make him wish for that towards which you are leading him. . . . Effort, order, the steady exercise of a calling, must become to him what his instincts once were. . . .

“ Only by such mutilation can man become a citizen. It is not easy . . . and it is often done at the cost of introducing a poison into his nature which destroys his humanity. If it is wisely completed before the man knows right from left, then his primitive nature will build upon that foundation. . . . The man enters the citizen yoke without having known the charm of his primitive condition. He enjoys its advantages and accepts its limitations without question. His understanding is trained, and he finds it a surer guide than instinct. Each work of his hands gives him pleasure—the more difficult it seemed, the greater the triumph ; he falls in love and shares his burdens with others ; the repose of his old age is assured ; his will operates beyond the grave. He encloses his property by locks and keys, and the world cannot gainsay him.

“ But he was deceived ; he was mutilated. Is that right or necessary ? He could not live as a social man without it. There only remains the question whether the best possible social conditions will always be satisfactory to man ? When I am everything in my rank and calling that I can be, when my position is assured at law . . . when I am a citizen in the fullest sense of the word, and if that word of my forefathers, ‘ Freedom,’ ‘ Freedom,’ should ring again from the mouths of happy, entire, and righteous men, should I be satisfied with social order in perfection ? I think not. My dream has vanished ; social law and the social state does not bring satisfaction. . . . I live as a primitive man entirely dissatisfied with the social position ; the enjoyment of law is for me only a sham. Only the full free play of instincts is really right, and that I do not enjoy.

“ . . . The gaps in my nature which my social condition has inflicted must be filled up. The highest glory of my primitive existence, the purity of my instincts, and the good-nature resting thereon, must go in favour of

the highest worth of my nature—free human will and the moral power that goes with it. Man must gather experience amongst the ruins of his primitive instincts, which shall convince him of the errors and worthlessness of his animal nature, and lead him to the recognition of moral worth. In such circumstances there arises within him a new need, whose satisfaction leads him to the recognition of the duty of getting rid of the corruption of his primitive nature, and of breaking up the rigidity of his social outlook. . . .

IV.

WHAT AM I AS A MORAL BEING?

“ There is within me an inner force which enables me to look at the things of the world independently of my primitive animal desires and of my social obligations, and to regard them solely from the point of view as to how far they contribute to my spiritual advancement ; I can accept or reject them just as they satisfy or otherwise this point of view.

“ This force is the very centre of my being ; it is entirely independent of all other forces, nor is it in any way the product of any of my other natural abilities. *It is because I am, and I am because it is.* It arises from the feeling that when I do what I ought to do, and when I impose my own will as law upon myself, I am putting the completing touch to my own character.

“ My primitive animal nature knows nothing of this force. As a purely primitive creature I can do nothing myself against my own animal instincts, and as such I am quite incapable of imagining that I can improve myself by any means which would injuriously affect my animal comforts and my animal behaviour.

“ As a social creature man is just as powerless. The social ruin of a nation is the most terrible thing one has to strive against, just as the animal ruin of one's individuality is the most terrible thing one has to fight against in one's own nature.

"Man as a social animal is in just as little need of morality as he himself, in his animal nature, is capable of it. We can in a social condition live quite a good life amongst other people without any morality whatever. In the same way we can comply with each other's wishes, and deal righteously and fairly with each other, without obeying any moral code.

"Morality is quite an individual thing, and cannot be shared by any two people. No man can feel for me that I am. No man can feel for me that I am moral. We may live in social relationships with other people without any belief in their morality, but in the midst of this unbelief I feel a need, and I am inspired by the elevating thought that it lies in my own power to make of myself something nobler than the purely animal and social creature which is all that Nature and sex can produce.

"Sensual enjoyment, social law, and morality, seem to bear the same relationship to one another as do childhood, adolescence, and manhood.

"It is as a child that I approach most nearly to the state of innocence of the lower animals, but it is then, also, that I am most inspired by animal impulses. In this condition one's aims and desires are quite simple; sensual enjoyment is everything to one. But I suffer from my mistaken desires and the pain which they bring. I must therefore strive after such strength as will enable me to gain the mastery over both evils—my lustful desires and my pain. And in the middle classes it is during the period between my childish longings and the enjoyments of my rights of manhood—*i.e.*, during the period of my apprenticeship—that I chiefly require this strength. For in this position I lose all the delights of childish days without in any way enjoying the freedom and the rights of manhood. The man to whom my father confides me forces me, by his right as master, to renounce the rights of my nature for an object for which, in reality, my egotism cares less than for the actual moment. In such a position I possess no rights. I am now the creature of a demoralizing compact, and I must

look at everything from the point of view of how it affects my master's interests. The hope of future enjoyment from something which he may or may not make out of me—this hope must at this period be my sole compensation for the freedom which I miss so much. But this visionary hope cannot possibly satisfy my primitive nature ; therefore every apprentice strives with all his might to free himself from a position which carries him, as it were, to his fate, rather than to the attainment of his own aims. But the happiness and security of my future life depend entirely on the truth and good faith of the two parties to this agreement, and on this account I must stoically renounce all my desires for freedom, and strictly accept the restrictions imposed upon me during my years of apprenticeship. Meanwhile this time passes away ; the period of my demoralization, like that of purely sensual enjoyment, comes to an end. Now, as my own master, I regard everything from the standpoint of its influence on me and on my life's purpose. Freedom, independence, and personal rights, belong exclusively to this period. The two previous ways of regarding the world seem to have been due to my ignorance, my weakness, and a certain want of self-sufficiency and of independent rights ; they do not represent either truth or justice. Nevertheless, it was only through these illusions, through that unjust yoke, that I was able to arrive at my present mastery of truth and right. But for the illusions of my childhood and the absence of all rights during my years of apprenticeship, I should not have been stimulated to the strong and steadfast effort which is necessary if man is to rise to an independence based on law and on justice.

" In order to arrive at these two primary forces in my social and moral education, I must regard my earlier illusions as true and rightful, for otherwise I should now be living in a confused and uneducated state, neither child, apprentice, nor master ; and I should die in this condition, like a fruit whose tender blossom has been injured by the wind. But although I have been forcibly

preserved from such misfortune by circumstances and by my illusions, the impressions due to those early illusions and to those adolescent restrictions will always remain with me, and my present position of mastery can never be independent of them—that is to say, my present truth is not absolute.

“ All that is true of the threefold relationship of the child, the apprentice, and the man, is also true of the relationship between my social and moral nature. In my primitive state I saw everything from the point of view of simple sensuous enjoyment ; here, too, I suffered from erring desires and the pain which they brought, and I strove for strength to enable me to gain a mastery over them. I found it in a middle condition halfway between my primitive and my moral existence—i.e., in the social condition. Once more I lost in this, all the delights of my primitive freedom, and at the same time I enjoyed but little of the complete and independent strength of which my moral nature is capable.

“ As a social being I am a creature of the compact. The state in which my fate is cast, compels me to renounce my personal rights for an object about which I care less than for the pleasures of the moment. But my whole happiness depends on the good faith of myself towards the state, and of the state towards me, and I am compelled, therefore, to be loyal to the restrictions which have been placed about me. Just as in the period of apprenticeship I feel illusory desires, the attainment of which might or might not be a compensation for my losses, so now I long to be free from a position which fixes my destiny rather than helps me to pursue my own ends.

“ But I am as little fit to be free as the apprentice himself until my suffering has brought me to a higher standpoint from which I see the world in relation to my own inner worth. If I had cast aside the social yoke and the sensory pleasures of my primitive nature as both illusory and wrong before experience had led me to the moral point of view, I should have lived without education, without clear purpose—neither citizen nor primitive man,

neither happy nor moral, content with neither sensory pleasures nor prudent action. But although circumstances kept me from this fate, I can never get rid of the illusory impressiveness of the earlier period. I can never attain to absolute morality in which there is no trace of my lower nature and no trace of the merely legal point of view.

" Such absolute morality would lead me to neglect altogether the demands of my primitive nature, and of my particular social obligations, through which I attained to such morality as I am capable of. It would lead me to believe myself nearer to my lost innocence than I can be in the corruption of the social order ; in the midst of the sufferings and restrictions of my primitive corruption I should dream of knowing no evil, and take no thought for my life's needs. 'Take no thought for the morrow, neither what ye shall eat nor what ye shall drink.' 'Sell that thou hast and give it to the poor.' 'Who is my mother, and who are my brethren ?' 'Unless ye become as little children.' 'The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests.' Such would be its behests. The ties of property, blood, and law, would all vanish.

" . . . Such a morality is not the lot of mortal man ; he lost it at his first infancy. He can see it at both ends, so to speak, of his existence, but he leaves it in the middle, driven hither and thither by the storms of his own guilt. But just as men leave their sheltering-places after a storm, and bend their energies to clearing up the mischief that is wrought, so, when they see their buried selves in the midst of this sinful life, men set to work to free themselves from the consequences of their corruption. They build upon the ruins of their old selves a new and better life.

" We really know nothing of our moral nature beyond what this work of rescue teaches us. In our dead selves morality takes its rise, but it is clouded with shadows which conceal its origin to the very end. It has therefore nothing to do with the morality of the philosopher. Shut up in his own circle, man knows only the actual objects which appear to him as right and wrong from the stand-

point of his native instincts. The rightness or otherwise of these ideas cannot be the basis of my morality. On the contrary, conduct is moral which is based on an effort to be free from the illusions of my animal nature to such a degree as would not have been possible without a will standing out against my lower impulses.

“ My morality is nothing more than the way in which I relate my pure will to do right to the full measure of my knowledge and my responsibilities—the way in which I, as father, son, ruler, subject, man, or slave, in all sincerity take pains to carry out my duties, not so much to my own satisfaction and advantage, as to the satisfaction and advantage of those to whom I owe, not only nourishment and protection, but obedience, loyalty, and gratitude. The more closely Nature attaches my instinctive existence to a moral object, the more points from which I am touched by my animal weal and woe, the more stimuli I find, the more impulses I feel towards morality. The farther Nature removes my instinctive nature from a moral object, the less such stimuli move me to morality.

“ Thus social duties favour my morality in proportion as they concern objects which are in close natural relation to me ; and, conversely, they are favourable to immorality as the motives underlying them are remote from such relations.

“ Only those motives to duty are purely moral which are entirely my own. Every motive which I share with others is not so. It has, on the contrary, an immoral tendency, because it induces inattention to the deceptive character of my animal nature and the mischievous hardness of my social outlook. The larger the number with whom I divide my duty, the greater the danger. . . . Everything which I do as a member of a body, a community, a corporation, or a party, unmans me more or less. The larger the body which prescribes my duty, the greater the danger. . . .

“ The social order arises from the necessity of a mutual sharing of duties ; it is in essence a series of ideas which alternately unite and divide my selfish and my altruistic

feelings. When it brings them together, the effect is ennobling ; when it separates them, then it is demoralizing. The social order is therefore a means of moral elevation according as its rights and duties concern objects naturally near to our individuality, and *vice versa*. . . . Morality in the social order depends on whether the laws and customs hold fast to this principle to which Nature herself points.

“ The natural nearness of moral objects, and the unity of my egoistic and altruistic feelings, do not, however, make me of themselves moral ; that I can only become through my own power. The union of these feelings prepares the ground in which morality—that is, the dominance of purified and lofty good-nature over my selfishness—becomes possible.

“ Religion is the highest product of such a situation ; but the external religious organization, or any other state contrivance for equilibrating selfishness and altruism, cannot make social man as such moral. . . .

“ This comes only when I of my own free will give up the principle of the harmony of my primitive nature, and subject myself and all my primitive selfishness to the freedom of my will and its purified benevolence. Until this happens I am the victim of the alternating dominance of selfish and altruistic points of view.

“ Thus household and citizen duties, in so far as they rest on a basis of primitive selfishness, are not moral duties. They may, indeed, be opposed to my morality, and stand in the way of my moral development. This is always the case when they nourish my selfishness at the expense of my free good-will.

“ The social will puts a complete stop to the harmony of my primitive nature. This legal system on which it rests is purely selfish, mistrustful, and armed with force ; it produces a condition of mind entirely opposed to morality.

“ For this reason the mediating art of wise legislation is necessary even in the social order—an art that sees beyond the restrictions of primitive human motives, and

works, towards the elevation of human nature, in order to prevent its complete subordination to primitive instincts and indolence, in order to prevent men from going under altogether.

“ The more the legislation tightens the bonds of blood and encourages the kindly feelings of natural kinship, the more difficult it makes it for might to assert itself over right ; the more the prevailing ideas and the moderation of official needs make a government modest in its demands, so much the more favourable will the disposition of the citizens be to their inner elevation. On the other hand, when the state is all-powerful, when the citizen feels that he is in the world for the state’s sake, and not for his own, and that he is powerless against its demands, the less likely is the social order to favour his moral improvement.

“ National morality is, therefore, always dependent on legislative wisdom in subordinating might to right, and selfishness to kindly good feeling. When legislation loses sight of these things, when it allows might and greed to play their unequal part among the people, when it leaves confidence and good-will a prey to privileged self-seeking, then the seeds of national degeneration are sown.

“ The performance of the duty which judgment or principle lays upon me does not touch my morality in the same way as that which comes from the emotional effect of objects which stand in intimate relationship to me. What I as democrat, or aristocrat, or as a devotee of some principle or other, regard as my duty does not advance my moral worth in the same degree as that which results from the primitively near moral objects. Even the idea of filial duty does not favour moral growth in the same way as the laughter and tears of my son ; so sharing in national calamities and pleasures favours morality more than the contemplation of patriotic duty. The purest principles of legislation do not preserve us from social hardening unless they are supported by actual sensory participation in social triumphs and social woes.

"Social duties favour morality in proportion as their motives are not due merely to law or to the force of social circumstances, in proportion as they are not merely due to my official position in the state, but are a simple consequence of my manhood.

"The tendency to subordinate the interests of the individual to the interests of an impersonal state deprives the social order of its moral effectiveness."

After this discussion Pestalozzi formulates his general outlook in life:

"I see my nature in a threefold aspect—(1) as a product of Nature; (2) as a product of the social order; (3) as a product of my own work. It is only as my own creation that I can attain to inner harmony.

"As a product of Nature, I am a product of necessity—the same animal organism which for thousands of years has never been able to suppress its slightest inclination.

"As a product of the social order, I am like a drop of water which falls into a stream on the side of the Alps.

"As my own work, I busy myself within myself—a work for all time. No wave can tear me from my rock; time cannot destroy the traces of the work which, as a moral personality, I have completed. . . .

"Should you remain on this middle point between your animal and your moral life, then do not be surprised that you are just a tailor, a cobbler, or a prince, and not a man. Do not be surprised that your life is a struggle without a victory, and that you are not even what Nature alone made of you, but much less—a citizen, and only half a man."

Proceeding to draw together the threads of his argument, he says:

"This threefold way of looking at things explains all the contradictions in our nature. They are, in fact, nothing but the fluctuating dominance of the primitive or the moral side of my nature.

"The social man as such lives in the midst of this

fluctuation, and the persistence with which men destroy the happiness and the repose of their race rests entirely on the instinctive inclination to think themselves perfected prematurely, and to remain at the social level to which they have reached.

“ Man must, however, either sink below this level or rise above it. As the product of the social order he must be below what Nature made of him, or rise higher than his social self. . . . This work of rescue must be his own doing entirely. But since this is simply his inner conviction concerning his own true nature, it is clear that he can only accomplish the rescue through a sense of his dangerous helplessness in face of the corruption of his animal nature in the social organization—the sense, in fact, upon which religion is based.”

His next step is to examine those products of social life with which he began, but this time from the threefold point of view—thus :

“ Property, of which as a primitive, unspoiled man I knew nothing, and upon which the social order is built, receives recognition from the morally enlightened ; but he regards it as a means of ennobling his own nature and bringing happiness to others, even to the point of endangering what belongs to him. The morally enlightened man will never seek the possession of power, nor will the primitive man in his purity ; it is the breath of the social man’s being. The merchant who regards his workmen as instruments for his own enrichment is a social product ; he has sunk below the level of primitive man. If the law compels him to regard them as independent persons to whom he must give a proper equivalent for their work, he is still a social product, obedient to social laws. If he does these things of his own free will, without external compulsion, he is a moral person.

“ Of religion the primitive man knows nothing ; he offers no sacrifices and makes no prayers. As a product of his corrupted instincts, his religion is a false superstition. As the work of society—i.e., of the state—it is an illusion ; only as my own work is my religion true.

State-made religion is the handmaid of the circumstance which produced it."¹

A brief restatement of the answers to his three great questions is followed by a paragraph of touching personal importance :

" Thousands pass away, as Nature gave them birth, in the corruption of sensual gratification, and they seek no more.

" Tens of thousands are overwhelmed by the burdens of craft and trade, by the weight of the hammer, the measuring-rod, the crown, and they seek no more.

" But I know a man who did seek more ; the joy of simplicity dwelt in his heart, and he had faith in mankind such as few men have ; his soul was made for friendship, love was his element, and fidelity his strongest tie.

" But he was not made by this world nor for it, and wherever he was placed in it he was found unfit.

" And the world that found him thus, asked not whether it was his fault or the fault of another ; but it bruised him with an iron hammer, as the bricklayers break up an old brick to fill up crevices.

" But though bruised, he yet trusted in mankind more than in himself, and he proposed to himself a great purpose, to attain which he suffered great agonies, and learned lessons such as few mortals had learnt before him.

" He could not, nor would he, become generally useful ; but for his purpose he was more useful than most men are for theirs, and he expected justice at the hands of mankind, whom he still loved with an innocent love. But he found none. Those who made themselves his judges, without further examination, confirmed the former sentence that he was absolutely useless.

" This was the grain of sand which decided the doubtful balance of his wretched destinies.

" He is no more ; thou wouldest know him no more. All that remains of him are the decayed remnants of his destroyed existence.

¹ These are only very imperfect and incomplete selections from these concluding discussions.

" He fell as the fruit that falls before it is ripe, whose blossom has been nipped by the northern gale or whose core is eaten out by the gnawing worm.

" Stranger that passest by, refuse not a tear of sympathy. Even in falling the fruit turned itself towards the stem, on the branches of which it lingered through the summer, and it whispered to the tree: 'Verily, in my death will I nourish thy roots.'

" Stranger that passest by, spare the perishing fruit, and allow the dust of its corruption to nourish the roots of the tree, on whose branches it lived, sickened, and died."

II.—“ HOW GERTRUDE TEACHES HER CHILDREN ”

INTRODUCTION

WHEN this book was published (1801), Pestalozzi had so far succeeded in impressing himself and his object upon his fellow-countrymen that cantonal governments were sending young men to him to be trained in his methods. He was at the same time anticipating government action by taking poor boys into his establishment at Burgdorf without payment, in order to make teachers of them. He felt, therefore, the necessity of a book (or of books) in which the spirit of his work might be read and studied. He had already published a pamphlet in which his ideas were briefly sketched for the benefit of interested parties,¹ but it was too short for students. He had also planned a series of elementary books for the use of mothers in the education of their children. These books, however, were, in the nature of the case, rather practical than theoretical, and in the exigencies of practice the master's spirit was sometimes lost.

His attempt to describe his method and its fundamental principles was written in the form of letters to his friend Gessner, who, indeed, is said to have put the idea into Pestalozzi's mind. The book had a success only second to that of the first volume of Leonard and Gertrude, though it provoked much more criticism than his famous story, largely because its fundamental idea—Elementarbildung—was new, and was often misunderstood.

Many of the earlier letters are autobiographical; some of the others are descriptive of his methods of teaching the

¹ A translation is given in G., pp. 291-303.

elements of spelling, arithmetic, and drawing. All these sections are omitted in this selection, the first because they belong rather to a life of Pestalozzi than to his educational doctrine, and the second because they are rather of historic than of present-day importance. The omissions include the whole of Letters III., VIII., IX., and XI.

FIRST LETTER

[Pestalozzi is mainly concerned to tell his friend of the motives which have actuated his life, and of the difficulties and sufferings he has undergone. He describes his disappointments at Neuhof, his efforts in Stanz, and his curious early experiences at Burgdorf. It was in this last place that his systematic investigations of teaching methods began.]

HOW AND WHEN DO CHILDREN BEGIN TO LEARN?¹

88. About this time, without being conscious of the principles which actuated me, I began, in my explanations of objects to children, to pay special attention to the degree of nearness with which these objects affected their senses; and, in the same way as I had sought in every direction for the way in which instruction might begin, I now tried to find out the exact time when the child first began to learn, and soon convinced myself that this coincided with the hour of birth. From the moment when he is first sensitive to external impressions Nature becomes his teacher. The beginning of life is nothing other than the dawning capacity for receiving these impressions; it is nothing other than the awakening of the perfected physical embryo, the quickening of its capacities and its impulses towards development; it is nothing other than the awakening of the perfectly organized animal nature which will and must ultimately become human.

¹ The numbers at the beginning of paragraphs refer to the numbered paragraphs in Mann's Pestalozzi's *Ausgewählte Werke*, Bd. iii.

INSTRUCTION MUST BE ADAPTED TO DEVELOPMENT.

34. Thus, to instruct men is nothing more than to help human nature to develop in its own way, and the art of instruction depends primarily on harmonizing our message and the demands we make upon the child with his powers at the moment. There must, therefore, be an organized sequence in these impressions ; the initial and subsequent steps must all be adapted to the growth of the capacities which we are seeking to develop.

I soon realized, also, that it would be necessary to investigate this sequence, including in the investigation the whole range of human knowledge, but giving special attention to points of departure in the process of development. In no other way can we insure a supply of school-books and textbooks suited to the actual situation. I saw, too, that the right solution of this book problem depended upon their careful graduation in accordance with the increasing capacities of children. We must also be in a position to say clearly and definitely what part of each subject is suited for each stage in the child's advance, in order to prevent him, on the one hand, from being kept back from work which he is quite capable of doing, and, on the other hand, from being overburdened or confused with subjects which are beyond him.

INSTRUCTION DOES NOT BEGIN WITH TEACHING TO READ.

35. I saw, further, that the child's powers of observation and speech must be developed to a considerable degree before we begin to teach him to read or to spell. As a result, I was convinced that young children require first of all to be made intelligently acquainted with things. This is, of course, a psychological problem, and we have not at present the men to whom we can entrust it, unless we provide them with special help. I was thus brought to feel the need of observation books which would be used before and in preparation for the ABC books. In going through these books with the children, we should

actually present to their notice carefully chosen objects or reliable models and drawings, instead of dealing with them by definition, as men do now. Their ideas would thus be both clear and real. As events turned out, this notion of mine was soon to receive striking confirmation, in spite of my limited resources and in spite of errors inseparable from early experimentation.

TEACHING A CHILD OF THREE.

A thoughtful mother entrusted me with the education of her child, who was then barely three years old. For some time I saw him for one hour daily, and attempted to put my theories to the test of practice. I experimented with letters, figures, and anything which was handy, in my efforts to teach him; that is to say, by these means I tried to give clearness to his ideas and to his expressions. I made him name correctly the properties which he recognized in each object—e.g., its colour, its parts, its position, its form, and its number. I was soon compelled to put aside the earliest affliction of youth—those miserable letters. He only wanted pictures and things, and he soon learned to express himself clearly about the things he knew.

He found plentiful illustrations of his knowledge in the street, in the garden, or in the room, and began to repeat correctly the most difficult names of plants and animals, to compare quite unfamiliar objects with those which were known to him, and to get a picture of them in his mind. Although we were often led by our methods into bypaths, and into giving more attention to the unfamiliar and the remote than to things near at hand, yet the experiment threw considerable light on the methods of interesting the child in his environment, and of developing in him the love of independent activity.

On the other hand, however, the experiment was not wholly satisfactory from my point of view, because the first three years of the boy's life had been lost. Even in those early years a child acquires by the ordinary process

of Nature extremely clear acquaintance with innumerable objects. Here is our starting-point, and by making our language lessons relate to this we shall still further clarify his ideas. By these means we fix the foundations of future systematic knowledge in all its ramifications upon the bed-rock of Nature's own teaching. Moreover, we shall make use of that which Nature herself has taught, in explaining the elements of those subjects which man has contributed to the store. At this age a child's powers and a child's experiences are considerable, thanks to Nature herself ; but our schools, regardless of the teachings of psychology, are commonly nothing but devices for destroying the fruits which the process of Nature has already produced in them.

THE FIVE-YEAR-OLD AT SCHOOL.

36. You know this, my friend. But consider again for one moment the enormity of this crime ! We leave our children in the full enjoyment of Nature until they are five years old. We give free play to their impressions ; the children are beginning to feel their own strength. They are steeped in the sensory joys of freedom. Already, in its unfettered course, Nature has followed with all definiteness the path which she pursues in the development of the sensuously happy wild animal, when suddenly, after five years of blissful sensuous life, we banish all Nature from their eyes ; we peremptorily put an end to the captivating period of uncontrolled freedom ; we herd them together like sheep in an evil-smelling room ; for hours, days, weeks, months, and years, we chain them unmercifully to the contemplation of miserable and monotonously unexciting alphabets, and condemn them to an existence which, in comparison with their former life, is repulsive in the extreme. . . .

WANTED, SCHOOL-BOOKS !

40. How willingly would I forget a world where the conditions are such as I have described, and how happy I am in my own corner at the side of my dear little

Ludwig, whose very caprices compel me to apply myself more intensively to the problem of children's first books! Assuredly, my friend, these are the things which the protest against the educational foibles of our age must produce. I am now becoming clearer as to what these books should be like. They must begin with the simplest elements of knowledge; they must impress upon the children the essential appearances of objects; they must lead them clearly and soon to the first notions of number and measurement; they must make the children articulate so far as their knowledge and their needs extend. Above all, they must provide amply for the first steps in the ladder of knowledge, which is the natural road to efficiency and power.

How great is the need for such books! Their absence leaves a gap not only where we might by effort find a substitute, but also where such remedy is denied us. Their absence means the absence of the spirit in education which flows direct from Nature herself without assistance from us. Nay, we do violence to ourselves in our effort to stifle the last trace of the Divine fire by means of those pitiable ABC schools of ours.

THE COMPROMISES OF PRACTICAL WORK.

41. However, I am wandering from the point. Whilst I was, on the one hand, investigating the origin of a practical method for the psychological development of those human capacities and aptitudes which are practicable and applicable to the training of children from infancy, I was at the same time educating children who had up till now been brought up on totally different theories and methods. Under these circumstances my actions were often in conflict with my principles, and I was obliged to have recourse to expedients which were diametrically opposed to my views. This was especially noticeable in the sequence of object lessons and language lessons, by means of which children's ideas should be developed. 'I could not do otherwise. I had perforce to investigate capacities

which I had had no means of training, and I had to work, as it were, in the dark. I used every method I could think of, and in every case I found, even when there had been the grossest neglect, individual power intensively much further developed than I had thought possible when first I saw the incomprehensible absence of trained technical skill in any direction. In those directions in which they had been taught I found them altogether apathetic, but underneath this apathy human nature was still alive.

THE RESISTANT POWERS OF CHILDREN.

Thus I discovered the fact which I take this opportunity of stating, that it takes a long time for the errors and follies of grown-up men to stifle Nature in the heart and mind of a child. God has, happily, made children very resistant to these destroying agencies, and this resistance is backed up by the realities of Nature in the midst of which they live. Nor is the Divine beneficence willing that this most sacred element of our nature should perish through no fault of ours, but through the want of powers of resistance. Rather does God desire that all children should move unfalteringly towards truth and justice. If later by their own folly men destroy the good in their nature, and deliberately wander through the labyrinth of error to destruction in the abyss of crime, that is their affair. But most men nowadays do not recognize what God has done for them. They attach no importance to the immeasurable influence of the child's own nature upon his education ; on the contrary, they put all the emphasis upon any miserable contribution of their own, as if the art of the teacher did everything for the human race, and Nature nothing.

PROGRESS IS DUE TO THE CHILD, NOT TO THE TEACHER.

And yet, in fact, it is Nature alone which accomplishes the good. She alone leads us uncorrupted and undismayed towards truth and wisdom. The more I followed

in her footsteps, the more I endeavoured to fashion my action after hers, and strained all my powers to keep pace with her, the more I was impressed by the power of the child to keep up with her. Such weakness as there was, was on my side. I made feeble use of the material which lay about me. I wanted to drive when it was not a question of driving a team, but of loading a waggon which goes of itself ; or, rather, it was a question of drawing out of the child what is already there, of stimulating, not of putting in. Afterwards I always hesitated before thinking, " This is beyond the children," and ten times longer did I hesitate before saying, " This cannot be done."

42. They accomplished feats which seemed to me impossible for their years. I allowed children of three years old to spell the most absurd nonsense simply because it was ridiculously hard. You have yourself heard children under four spell from memory the longest and most difficult expressions. Would you have believed it possible if you had not heard it with your own ears ? In the same way I taught them to read whole charts of geography printed with the most difficult abbreviations, some of the most unfamiliar words being indicated only by a few letters, at an age when they could hardly read print. You have seen the unwavering accuracy with which they deciphered these charts, and the evident ease with which they learned them by rote. I even attempted at times to make some of the older children master very difficult scientific propositions which they did not understand. They committed the sentences to memory by reading aloud and by repetition. So also with the questions which explained them. It was at first, like all catechizing, merely a parrot-like reproduction of meaningless words. But the sharp separation of individual ideas, the definite order in this separation, together with the fact that the words themselves impressed light and meaning, in the midst of the darkness, indelibly upon their minds, gradually awakened insight into the subject-matter, and transformed the darkness into the clear light of day.¹

¹ Cf. Introduction, pp. 9, 10.

FIRST GENERAL RESULTS OF HIS WORK.

43. The final result of this groping in the dark, of this mixture of mistaken procedure and lucid theorizing, was to clear up my mind as to the principles which should govern my line of action, and every day I saw more clearly that we ought not to reason with very young children, but should pursue the following course for the development of their intellect :

(1) Steadily increase the range of their practical experience with things.

(2) Do all that is possible to clear this experience from confusion and indefiniteness.

(3) Supply them with words sufficient for dealing with these experiences, going, indeed, a little farther in preparation for the future.

Whilst I was more and more impressed with the soundness of these views, I felt more and more the need of—

(1) Observation books for little children.

(2) A definite method upon which such books should be written.

(3) A systematic treatment of vocabulary based upon the method of these books, so that the children should be thoroughly conversant with a large number of words before learning to read.

An extensive vocabulary is an inestimable advantage to children. Familiarity with the name enables them to fix the object whenever it enters their consciousness, and a logically correct series of names develops and maintains in them a consciousness of the vital relation of things to each other. Nor is this all. We should never imagine, because the child does not understand everything about an object, that what he knows is useless to him. When a child has systematically mastered a scientific vocabulary, at any rate he enjoys the same advantage as the child of a merchant who from his earliest years, and in his own home, learns the names of innumerable objects of commerce.

SECOND LETTER

[In the opening paragraphs Pestalozzi tells of the circumstances which brought him into relations with Krüsi, who became one of his most valued assistants. Krüsi had been a schoolmaster for some years when he met Pestalozzi, and much of the letter is taken up with an account of how his future colleague gradually broke away from his old methods, especially those known as "catechetical" and "Socratic," by which latter means especially Krüsi hoped "to form the understanding" of his pupils.]

A. ON THE CATECHETICAL AND SOCRATIC METHOD OF TEACHING.

8. The new reading-book which the pastor introduced into Krüsi's parish contained religious instruction in proverbs and Scriptural texts, paragraphs on Nature study, natural history, geography, and constitutional history, etc. During the reading lessons Krüsi noticed that the pastor questioned the children on each paragraph which was read, in order to ascertain if they had understood it. Krüsi attempted this, and succeeded in making most of his pupils perfectly familiar with the contents of the reading-books. He doubtless achieved this result solely because, like the worthy Hübner, he adapted his questions to the printed text, and required the answer as it stood in the book before the question which should have prompted it was devised.

He certainly succeeded all the more through not attempting any real training of the intellect when he catechized, though it is only fair to say that the original method of teaching which is called "catechizing" never did offer mental training worth the name. It is merely a verbal analysis of statements which are confusing and unintelligible in their entirety. It has the merit of placing separate words and sentences one by one before the child, and is thus, in a sense, preparatory to the gradual clearing up of his ideas. "Socratizing" adds,

however, a new element to the old catechetical method as originally practised in religious instruction.

9. Those children whom Krüsi had trained so brilliantly were extolled by the pastor as examples to the older pupils. Later, however, Krüsi appears to have followed the fashion of the time, and actually attempted to combine these empty verbal analyses with "Socratizing," which demands much greater skill. Such a combination was, in the nature of the case, as certainly doomed to failure as a woodcutter's experiments in squaring the circle.

A superficial and uneducated man cannot fathom the depths which were the source of the true Socratic spirit. His failure is therefore certain. The mind behind the questions is wanting, nor have the children the necessary background of knowledge and experience from which answers might be drawn. When knowledge failed, language failed, and there were no books to supply them with answers, whether they understood the questions or not.

10. Meantime Krüsi did not clearly realize the difference between these two very dissimilar methods. He had not then grasped the fact that real catechizing, especially upon abstract subjects, does nothing more than familiarize the children with sentence forms and fixed forms of analysis. Except for this, it is nothing but a parrot-like learning of unintelligible sounds. "Socratizing," on the other hand, is, as we have seen, intrinsically impossible for children. Krüsi did himself injustice in speaking of his failure. He thought the fault lay entirely with himself, and imagined that every good teacher should be able by questioning to elicit from his children correct and definite answers on all kinds of religious and moral matters.

In his time "Socratizing" was the fashion in education, or, rather, when it had for the most part degenerated into a mere trick through its association with the catechisms of the monks and the schoolmasters. In those days men were deluded into thinking that intelligence could be

drawn from children in this way, that something could be got out of nothing; but I think that dream is passing.

11. But Krüsi was still fast asleep, or he would have seen that the hawk and the eagle could take no eggs from the nest where none were laid.

12. Nevertheless, as time went on he saw that, if a training college for teachers meant a place where every village schoolmaster would be enabled to attain Fischer's skill in questioning, it would be a doubtful blessing.

13. The longer he worked with Fischer, the greater the difficulties appeared to him. In his early days at Burgdorf he had heard me talking with Fischer about the education of the people, and in the course of conversation I emphatically decried the "Socratizing" habit, and declared that it was altogether against my principles to encourage the children prematurely to pronounce judgment about anything. I urged that it was preferable to teach them to suspend judgment, as far as possible, until they had observed the object in question from every side and under all conditions, and were, further, thoroughly familiar with the necessary words with which to describe and denote its properties. . . .

19. His conviction became strengthened when he saw the effect of directing the children back to the rudiments of human knowledge, and my patient lingering over these points. This altered his whole attitude towards teaching, and all his fundamental theories upon the subject. He realized now that in everything which I did for the children I was attempting to develop their innate powers rather than aiming at producing immediate and isolated results.

[Fischer in the meantime had died, and Pestalozzi invited Krüsi to join forces with him. This brought a large influx of new pupils from the "little cantons" into an institution where the organization was already far from fixed, and in which it was essential that the spirit of freedom should be preserved.]

B. SOME PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE NEW METHOD.

I needed free play for my experiments, but parents and others were constantly sending me specific instructions concerning particular children. . . . They saw in my methods nothing but a new way of teaching reading and writing. To seek to make the foundations of future knowledge secure, to try to strengthen practical capacity in general, to wait quietly for results that could only gradually develop—all this was fanciful . . . for they said: "The children cannot read" . . . "they are not learning how to write" . . . "they are not learning to be good"—this last because I did not teach the Catechism, as if that were the divinely appointed way of leading the children to reverence God and to worship Him in spirit and in truth. . . . I have been bold enough to say before now that God hates stupidity, hypocrisy, and lip-service, and that we should teach children to think, feel and act rightly, and lead them to enjoy the blessings of faith and love that are natural to them, before we make them commit various points of dogma and theological controversy to memory as an intellectual and spiritual exercise. All this disappointment was quite comprehensible, after all. Most people would rather see a single fish in their pond than a lake full on the other side of the mountain.

C. A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF PRINCIPLES.

. . . Krüsi, however, quickly accepted certain preliminary views of mine, which may be summarized as follows:

- (1) That the thorough mastery of a carefully arranged nomenclature is the means by which children and teachers alike may hope to attain definite knowledge of any subject.
- (2) That a knowledge of lines, angles, and surfaces, is the foundation of clear and accurate knowledge of the external forms of things. [*A means, that is to say, of training the power to look at things analytically.*]

(3) That the beginnings of arithmetic should be taught through real objects, or through the use of dots representing them, if children are to be saved from future confusion and error.

(4) That the right time for asking children to describe things is when they know them so clearly that further experience is not likely to add to their clearness. They learn thus to distinguish between what they know and what they do not know, and to be silent in the latter case.

(5 and 6) That knowledge begins in experience, and not in words. The way our children collected plants in summer-time, and our talks with them concerning their collections, especially impressed him with the feeling that careful attention to sensory experience is the foundation of the whole matter.

In this way he came finally to the conviction that it was necessary and possible to bring all methods of teaching and all teaching instruments into harmony with each other under one central principle, to know the use of which would enable teachers to put children into ways of doing things that would carry them as far as instruction could carry them, and that this central principle did not require men of learning, but only healthy common-sense and drill, to bring it to perfection in practice. . . . He sought the causes of his past failures, and found many.

20. First of all he saw that, in beginning with the simplest elements and in bringing these to perfection before going any farther, adding in due course a little to what had already been thoroughly learnt, though we did not at once bring children to a consciousness of self and of power, nevertheless we kept it alive, thus testifying to their undiminished native capacity.

21. The method does not drive the children. It leads them on. In his old work he had always to begin with, "Attend to this!" "Think!" If, for example, he asked in an arithmetic lesson, "How many sevens are there in sixty-three?" the children had no intelligent background for their answers, and must carefully think them out.

Now, under the new method, nine times seven objects are placed before him, and he learns to count nine groups of seven; consequently he does not require to think about the question. He never forgets that seven is contained nine times in sixty-three. This is the type of procedure adopted in every subject. . . .

23. . . . I rejected the verbalism of the schools of our time, and, as Nature does to the savage, I placed before the eyes of my children one picture at a time, and then sought for a word to describe it. This simplicity of presentation required from them no judgment and no inference, since it was not offered as a dogma, or as in any way dealing with truth and error, but only as material for observation and as a basis for future judgment and inference.

The letter closes with an account of another future colleague, Tobler, who after some years of teaching was introduced to Pestalozzi's work by Fischer, and by some practical demonstrations of the method given by Krüssi in Basle. Tobler's impressions of the work at Burgdorf are quoted. They close with these words : “ I am restored to the faith that I cherished so warmly in my early teaching days, nearly crushed out of existence as it had been by the methods I tried—those, that is to say, of my time. Once again I believe in the possibility of improving the human race.”

THIRD LETTER

This is in the main an account of another colleague, Buss, who tells the story of his own education and of the circumstances which led him to give up bookbinding and go to Burgdorf. He gives a lively account of his first impressions of the school, where he saw nothing at first but apparent disorder, though he soon pierced these unprepossessing externals, and found the motive at the back of the method to be that of putting men into the position of being able to help themselves. He was especially enamoured of the application of Pestalozzi's method to the teaching of drawing,

and in general of its simplicity. So clear was this that peasant men and women came, and said, "I can do that with my children at home"; and they were right. The whole method is play for anyone as soon as he catches the clue. Nature requires nothing of us that is not easy, if only we seek it directly and in the right way at her hands.

FOURTH LETTER

Pestalozzi begins by telling his friend Gessner of the doubts and fears with which he began his work. He was a humble wayside schoolmaster, ignorant and unpractical, driving the empty ABC wheelbarrow; he felt like a mouse in her hole, frightened by a cat, or like a seafarer who, having lost his harpoon, tries to catch a whale with a hook, *when he suddenly threw himself into an undertaking which meant the foundation of an oprhanage, a training college for teachers, and a boarding-school, and an advance of money ten times greater than he could ever have expected to borrow.* He rejoices that his undertaking has succeeded, *not for his own sake, but as contributing to the removal of the hindrances which prevent men from being what they desire to be.* Friend, man is good, and desires what is good.... I believe everywhere and always in the human heart.

To bring before his friend the principles of his method, he quotes selected passages from a pamphlet which he had written at the request of a society of friends interested in education.¹ After describing the developments of the seed ("the noblest part of the tree, buried deep in the bosom of the earth"), he proceeds afresh :

The human organism is subject to the same laws as organic nature in general. In the beginning, instruction must implant the fructifying germs of knowledge deep in the human mind, and then little by little, and

¹ The complete text of this important pamphlet will be found in Green's *Life and Work of Pestalozzi*, ch. xvii.

in uninterrupted continuity, link on with unerring certainty the less essential details of the superstructure, ever keeping in mind the organic oneness of the whole.

THE BASES OF KNOWLEDGE.

14. I tried next to find and formulate the laws that govern the intellectual development of man. I knew they must be the same as those which govern organic Nature, and I felt sure that they would enable me to build up a universal method of instruction in thorough accord with psychology. In dreamily thinking over the problem, it occurred to me that men might well regard their own judgments as they regard the ripe fruits of the tree. These we look upon as the final and complete result of the organic effort of the tree as a whole. So should it be with human judgments. None should be held ripe which do not seem to be the result of detailed and complete observation of the object in question. Judgments having no such basis should be regarded as worthless, exactly as we regard those fruits which fall from the tree prematurely ; they may gradually take on an appearance of ripeness, though they are really worm-eaten and decayed.

HOW TO SECURE THE PROPER ORGANIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE.

(a) Thus, we must learn to bring order into our observations, and to complete the simple before we proceed to the complex. In the methodology of every branch of knowledge the first problem is that of graduation. We must so order the subject-matter that each new idea is only a small, scarcely perceptible addition to that which has been already and unforgettably impressed upon the mind.

(b) We must learn to bring things into the same relation with each other in our minds as they actually have in Nature ; to subordinate the unessential to the essential ; to distinguish the schoolmaster's view of things from

things as they really are, and thus avoid the errors of disproportion in our instruction.

(c) We must learn how to make use of the relation which exists between the impression which an object makes upon our senses and our physical distance from it, and how to appeal to more senses than one.¹ We must not forget, indeed, that the law of physical distance has a wider application. Our positive opinions, our relationships, our duties, our virtues themselves, are all determined or are all affected by it.

(d) As all the effects of the workings of external Nature are necessary and inevitable—a fact to which Nature owes her power of uniting to a common end such apparently heterogeneous elements—so must we learn how to make our work as teachers effective, that the ends towards which we are working may be, as it were, physically assured, with all our miscellaneous activities harmoniously directed thereto.

(e) Through the wealth and diversity of their charm and scope, the play of physical forces actually bears everywhere the impress of freedom and independence. We, too, must learn how to make the results of our work bear a like impress of freedom and spontaneity, for they, too, are the outcome of irresistible natural forces.

Wide as is the range of the forces which control human development, their point of departure is in ourselves. Everything that we are, everything we wish to be and ought to be, has its origin in ourselves. Ought not knowledge to begin there, too?

FIFTH LETTER

THE SOURCES OF THE LAWS LAID DOWN IN THE FOURTH LETTER

1. FROM these propositions thus roughly drafted it is, I think, possible to elaborate a psychologically sound method of instruction of general applicability. They

¹ Cf. pp. 105-108. For a discussion of this Law of Physical Distance, *vide G.*, pp. 177 *ff.*

do not satisfy me as they stand ; indeed, I feel how incapable I am of setting forth in their comprehensive simplicity those laws of Nature on which the propositions are based. I feel certain, however, that they spring from three sources.

I. THE NATURAL CONSTITUTION OF THE HUMAN MIND

2. Nature itself is the first of these, by reason of which our minds advance from the confused impressions of sense to definite ideas. Certain things follow which must be regarded as the bases of the very laws which I am trying to discover. Thus—

(a) Actual sensory contact with things is only the source of correct ideas in so far as I am thereby brought into relation with unchanging qualities as distinguished from the accidental properties of individual objects or particular circumstances. Conversely, misconception only arises when it is these accidents of circumstance which play the chief part in my sensory experience.

(b) Sensory experience, thus refined and perfected, is a centre round which, without any special seeking, a whole series of consequential and more or less closely related ideas collects.

(c) If essentials have been carefully distinguished from unessentials in this matter, and the former have been duly impressed upon me, my mind, by its very constitution, passes, as it were, from truth to truth concerning the particular object ; but if, on the contrary, it is the accidentals that have impressed themselves upon me, there is no end to the errors into which my mind is naturally led.

(d) If we put objects side by side which [*in spite of individual peculiarities*] belong to the same class, we shall get a broader and clearer insight into their essential qualities. Any biased or one-sided ideas we may have derived from impressions made upon us by single objects with specific characteristics will be weakened in favour

of the truth. Such a procedure will prevent our becoming a prey to impressive but solitary experiences ; it will at the same time protect us from the confusion of thought which arises when the accidental is not clearly distinguished from the permanent—a state of mind in which we are apt to develop a preference for this or that object at the expense of clearer insight, our heads being filled, as it were, with things of secondary importance.

It is inevitable that the more completely a man has mastered essentials, the less likely is he to fall a prey to limited and prejudiced views ; and, on the contrary, the less comprehensive his experience of Nature is, the more likely he is to be led away from the truth by the accidents of changing circumstance.

(e) The most complex sensory experience is made up of elementary parts. When we have become sufficiently clear about these, even the most complex will appear simple.

(f) The more varied our sensory experience of an object, the more accurate our knowledge of it is likely to be.

. . . The laws that govern the workings of the human mind are connected with these fundamental principles. Concerning those laws, I will only say that the greatest of them all is the law of perfection. Whatever is imperfect is not true.

II. OUR CAPACITY FOR RESPONSE TO STIMULI.

3. The second source of these laws lies in the sensory responsiveness of our own nature, intimately bound up as it is with our capacity for acquiring experience.

This responsiveness vacillates between the inclination to learn and to know everything and the love of passive enjoyment which deadens the desire for knowledge. Curiosity stirs up our native inertia, and our inertia represses our native curiosity. Thus considered, the interaction has no intellectual value. But as the sensory foundation of my capacity to investigate, and of my capacity for cool judgment, respectively, they play a part

of great importance. We acquire all our learning because our nature is so sensitive to the infinite charm of knowledge. At the same time, inertia gives point and direction to what would otherwise be a passing from one superficial experience to another ; it makes men grow into the truth before they give it expression.

III. OUR RELATION TO OUR ENVIRONMENT.

4. The third source of these laws lies in the relation that exists between my environment and my capacity for knowledge.

Man is bound to his nest, and if he hangs a hundred threads from it, and draws a hundred circles round it, what more is he doing than the spider ? And what is the difference between a big and a little spider ? All of us—spiders as well as men—sit in the centres of our own circles. But man does not choose the centre around which he draws his circles—the spot, that is to say, in which his life is spent. As a merely physical organism, he learns to know the world only in proportion as the objects which constitute it enter more or less intimately into his experience—that is to say, in proportion to their nearness to the spot in which the pressure of circumstance commonly compels him to live and move.¹

SIXTH LETTER

THE RESULT OF PESTALOZZI'S RESEARCHES INTO INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT. VAGUE TO DEFINITE IDEAS

DIFFICULTIES AND SPIRIT OF THE RESEARCH.

1. FRIEND, you know how difficult it is for me to make clear the ideas which prompt my work. You will on this account forgive me, if I am succeeding very badly.

• ¹ This is, of course, another way of stating the Law of Physical Nearness which was laid down in the previous letter.

Since my twenties I have been incapable of philosophical thought in the true sense of the word. Fortunately for the practical carrying out of my theories, I did not require the philosophy which I find so difficult. At every point of my progress I worked until my nerves were strained to the utmost. I knew what I wanted, and took no thought for the morrow. My attitude towards the objects in which I was interested was determined by the actual requirement of the moment. If my imagination one day carried me beyond the bounds of achievement, the next I retraced my steps. That happened a thousand times. A thousand times I thought that I was approaching my goal, only to find suddenly that it was just another obstacle in the path. Such was my experience, more particularly when the principles which govern the human mechanism began to clear up. I thought that it was only necessary then to apply them to the elements of those branches of knowledge which centuries of human experience have indicated as the best means of developing our faculties—namely, writing, reading, and arithmetic.

WHAT ARE THE ELEMENTS OF KNOWLEDGE ?

2. But my investigations gradually made it clear that analysis must be carried much farther ; that writing, reading, and arithmetic, were not the primary elements for which I was seeking. This idea only came to me at odd moments, when struggling with one or other of these subjects. For example, I found that, in teaching children to read, that it was first of all necessary to teach them to talk. Trying to decide how this should be done, I hit upon the natural sequence of sounds, names, and speech proper.¹ Similarly I found, in trying to teach writing,

¹ Pestalozzi's idea is based partly on the current theories of the origin and development of language, and partly on an external view of the progress of speech in infancy, the true interpretation of which will be found in most books on genetic psychology (*vide* Stout, *Groundwork of Psychology*, chap. xiii; also Loveday and Green, *Introduction to Psychology*, chap. iv.).

that drawing must come first, and that drawing in its turn must be based upon measuring.

The children's efforts to learn to spell convinced me of the need of a book for infants which would teach children of three and four years more of concrete things than school-children of seven and eight commonly have.

Although these experiences led to the discovery of specific teaching devices, I still felt that I was far from sounding the problem to its depths.

IS THERE A GENERAL FORM OF EDUCATION?

3. For a long time I sought a common psychological basis for these artificial devices. It seemed to me that I might in this way, and in this way only, discover the *form* of the education of the human race as determined by the analogy of Nature herself. This form must clearly be based upon the general constitution of the human mind, in accordance with which the impressions of the outside world upon our senses are received and worked up into definite ideas.

4. Every line, every measurement, every word, I said to myself, is an intellectual product, worked up from the experience of concrete things. This is the source of definite ideas, and the key to all methods of instruction. The principles of instruction must, therefore, be derived from the original, unchangeable form of the development of mind. Everything, therefore, seemed to depend upon accurate knowledge of the course of this development, and I began anew to investigate the starting-points from which this knowledge must be derived.

ANALYSIS OF SENSORY EXPERIENCE.

5. The world, I mused to myself, lies before our eyes as a sea of confused, fluctuating sense impressions. If instruction is to help forward education, which, when left to Nature, does not progress very rapidly, and if it is to do this without inflicting some injury upon us, it should

first of all remove the confusion that overshadows our sensory experience. Then it should separate and classify objects, and present them to our senses in related groups, that our ideas about them may become clear. Finally, when clearness has been attained, it should proceed to make these ideas definite.

All this will be accomplished in three steps : (1) Presenting the confused sense complexes separately ; (2) changing the conditions under which the observations are separately made ; (3) bringing them into relation with the whole range of our previous knowledge.

Thus our knowledge grows from vagueness to distinctness, from distinctness to clearness, and from clearness to definiteness.

LAW OF PHYSICAL NEARNESS.

6. The natural progress of mental development is, however, dependent upon an important law—namely, that the clearness of our knowledge of objects varies according to their nearness or distance from our senses. Everything about us is, *ceteris paribus*, confused, difficult of apprehension, and indistinct, in proportion to its distance from us. On the other hand, everything appears distinct, easy of apprehension, clear, and definite, in proportion to its nearness to our senses. As a physical being I am nothing but my five senses ; consequently, the clearness or vagueness of my ideas depends absolutely upon the nearness or distance from which external objects affect my senses, and through them myself—i.e., my mind which works up these impressions.

EXPERIENCE BEGINS AT HOME—i.e., IN THE SELF.

7. But this centripetal point of all first-hand experience—me myself—is also an object of first-hand experience. What I myself am is easier to understand than those things which are outside myself. Everything of which I am conscious about myself is in itself first-

hand experience distinct from all the rest ; it is only the things outside that produce confused impressions. Consequently, advance to self-knowledge is a stage shorter than advance to knowledge of other things.

8. Ideas of this kind, stimulating but confused, occupied me for a long time. I described them in my report before I had discovered the connection between them and the laws of the mechanism of Nature. Before I had found what should, on my theory of a universal form, be the starting-points of instruction, I saw that the means of simplifying the knowledge we derive from sensory experience lies in *number, form, and language*.

ANALYSIS OF SENSORY EXPERIENCE RESUMED.

9. In the course of my search after my object, whilst I was meditating rather desultorily about those things, I chanced to think upon the way in which a cultivated man acts, when he deliberately resolves into its component parts, and gradually makes quite clear to himself, an object which at first seemed blurred and dark. In such a case the man would endeavour to find out—

(1) How many objects are before him, and whether they are all of one kind.

(2) What they really look like in form and outline.

(3) What they are called—*i.e.*, what sound or word will represent them.

10. Such action, however, manifestly presupposes that the man possesses certain mature powers—

(1) The ability to take note of the dissimilarities of form in a group of objects, and to think of them from that point of view.

(2) The ability to distinguish number amongst the objects, and to think of them as being one or many.

(3) The ability to fix the object in his memory by means of language.

THE ELEMENTARY MEANS.

11. I concluded, therefore, that number, form, and language, constitute the elementary means of instruction, inasmuch as form and number comprise all the *external* qualities of an object, and language gives it a specific place in my mind.

Here, then, is a fixed principle upon which procedure must be based. We may define it in this way :

(1) Children must be taught to think of each object which is presented to them as a unity—*i.e.*, as a thing separate from the other things about it.

(2) They must learn the names of all the objects which they know as soon as possible.

(3) They should learn their shapes—*i.e.*, their sizes and proportions.

12. Since the education of children must take its start in these three elements, the teacher's first efforts must be directed—using all the help that psychology can give him—towards establishing firmly the foundations of counting, measuring, and speaking ; for the correct knowledge of all the objects that touch our senses is dependent upon them. He must aim at making the various devices for developing and training these three faculties as simple as possible, and absolutely consistent with each other.

ARE THESE THE ONLY FUNDAMENTAL QUALITIES OF OBJECTS ?

13. After I had recognized these three elements, I was still worried by the question : " Why are not all the qualities of objects with which we are acquainted through our senses equally fundamental ?" But I soon saw that these three qualities are inherent in all objects, whilst no other sensory qualities are common to them all, some being found in one, others in another. It is also a fact that these qualities strike us at once, and by means of them we distinguish one from another. Here, then, was an essential difference between the number, form, and

name of objects and the other qualities which they possess. I could not, therefore, do otherwise than take these three as the starting-points of knowledge. On the other hand, I recognized that the remaining sensory qualities which objects possess may be directly associated with these more fundamental ones. It followed that in actual instruction the new knowledge should be immediately linked on to the knowledge of form, number, and sound, which they have already acquired.

I saw now that awareness of the unity, form, and name, of an object made my knowledge distinct; that acquaintance with its other qualities made my knowledge clear; and that when I knew the relation of its various qualities one to another my knowledge had become definite.

THE THREE ELEMENTARY SUBJECTS.

14. Then I went farther, and found that all our knowledge has its origin in three primary capacities:

(1) The power of making sounds, from which language develops.

(2) The indefinite purely sensory element in perception, from which comes the consciousness of form.¹

(3) The definite, and no longer merely sensory, power of ideation, from which comes the consciousness of unity and the ability to count and reckon.¹

Thus I come again to the result that education must start with the primary results produced by these three fundamental faculties—sound, form, and number. It cannot be otherwise if instruction in individual subjects is to lead to a result satisfactory to our whole nature. It must take into account what these elementary faculties have accomplished, and organize our work in such a way that the continuity is unbroken and the balance is maintained.

¹ It is not very clear what Pestalozzi means. "Indefinite" probably refers to the fact that perception is at least partly determined by external circumstances outside our control, whereas the higher processes are defined by limitation of capacity: "thus far and no farther" can we go.

Thus I found at last that Art and Nature were necessary to the solution of the problem. I had now discovered the common source of all teaching devices, and at the same time I found the form in which education can be defined in terms of human nature and the laws that govern it. Further, the difficulty of applying the mechanical laws which I took to be the basis of human instruction to that type of education which has been founded on the experience of centuries—namely, to writing, arithmetic, reading, etc.—was overcome.

SEVENTH LETTER

This letter concerns the teaching of sound and form and the subjects which develop out of them—namely, language (oral and written) and drawing.

In the opening paragraph Pestalozzi describes his method of teaching :

1. The elementary sounds beginning with simple syllables (" ba," " la," " ma," etc.), which are to be repeated to babes before they can talk. They are to be given in systematic form in a projected spelling-book for mothers. When the child has sufficient control of his vocal organs, he will imitate these sounds—the only ones he has heard.

2. The letters, which are printed separately on cardboard ; the vowels, printed in red, come first, and the consonants are added to them in regular order. Three letter syllables follow, and then whole words are built up letter by letter. The work in school was to be done simultaneously, and thus the art of teaching becomes quite mechanical. After exercises of this kind, the book itself is put into the hands of the children as their first reading-book.

3. Words, or rather names, a carefully - arranged series of which, dealing with all sorts of objects, which the children will one day learn to know, is to be given in the mother's book. These names are to be read so often

that the children have them by heart. In this way he hopes to make later instruction easier. It is a chaotic collection of material to be used subsequently in the house they are going to build.¹

4. Language teaching proper.

THE PRIMARY RELATION OF LANGUAGE TO PERCEPTION AND THOUGHT.

23. In order to determine the form which language teaching should take if it is to enable us to express ourselves distinctly about the things we know, we must inquire—

- (1) What is the supreme purpose of language to man?
- (2) By what methods does Nature herself strive to achieve this end in the development of the power of speech in children?

As to (1), the ultimate end of language is to lead man from the confusion of mere sense impressions to definite ideas.

As to (2), in the individual development of speech the natural stages are as follows :

- (i.) We recognize an object as a whole and identify it as a unit—*i.e.*, as a single object.
- (ii.) We gradually become conscious of its characteristics, and learn to name them.
- (iii.) Finally, by means of language we are able to define these qualities with accuracy, assisted by verbs and adverbs, and to describe their various transitions by altering the forms of the words and their relations to each other.

THE TEACHING PROCEDURE DEPENDENT THEREON.

24. (1) I have already expressed my views regarding the procedure to be followed in teaching the child to name objects (*cf.* § 8, p. 112).

¹ Pestalozzi had another and deeper view regarding this (*cf.* § 46).

(2) In learning to know and to name the characteristics of objects, procedure divides itself into—

(i.) Efforts to teach the child to express himself distinctly concerning number and form.

Number and form, as elementary characteristics common to all objects, are the two most comprehensive general abstractions which man has arrived at. All other means of reaching definite ideas depend upon them.

(ii.)¹ Efforts to teach the child to express himself clearly about other qualities of objects apart from number and form, including the objects of which we are directly aware through our senses and those which we only know through imagination and judgment.

25. The experience of centuries has taught us to separate number and form from all other sensory qualities of objects. These must be made familiar to the child quite early, not merely as qualities inherent in individual objects, but as physical generalizations. He must not only be able to call an object square or round, but must, almost as a preliminary, acquire the idea of "round" and "square," of "unity," as purely abstract conceptions, so that when he comes across objects which are "round" or "square" or single, etc., he can at once associate with the quality the particular word which stands for the general conception. The universality of these two qualities explains why language must be treated as a means of expressing number and form quite apart from its function as a means of expressing other sensory qualities.

Pestalozzi then describes his particular procedure; as, however, it is now of little more than antiquarian interest, those sections of this letter are omitted.² In the course of it he says:

38. But now I come to a point when my pupils should be able to use independently the helps that are in exist-

¹ No. iii. of this series occurs in § 40. The i., ii. and iii. refer back to ii. and iii. of § 23, ii. of § 23 being expanded into i. and ii. of § 24.

² The Pestalozzian method is described in detail in G., chaps. xi. and xii.

ence. . . . So far and no farther do I wish to go. It is not, and never was, my ambition to teach the world art and science. I know none. It was and is my hope to make the approach to learning easy to common men who are now neglected and run to seed. . . . I would set fire to the barriers . . . which shut out one man in ten from their social rights—above all, from the right to be educated. . . .

40. The third special means of language instruction, which leads us to the final aim of instruction—the definite idea—is as follows :

(iii.) It consists in making the child express himself about the connection of objects with each other in their varying circumstances—in other words, in making our ideas about things which we know by name, and with which we are already more or less familiar, still more definite.

Grammar as well as the progress to definite ideas is involved.

[*Pestalozzi proceeds to describe his ideal procedure. The mother is not to talk of forms and rules, but to repeat simple sentences before the child, which he is to imitate as an exercise in oral utterance and in meaning. The two objects—clear pronunciation and mastery of language—are to be clearly distinguished always, and practised independently. Then follow various sentences and questions about them: "Father is kind," "Who is kind?" etc., leading up to sentence-building not unlike much that is still practised in schools—e.g. :*

I shall

I shall preserve

I shall preserve my health (etc.)

Finally comes description of objects and actions.]

A bell is a wide, thick, round bowl, open below; it generally hangs freely. The top, which is rounded like an egg, is narrower than the bottom, etc. . . .

* To walk is to move on stepwise, etc. . . .

THE PLACE OF GRAMMAR.

46. I have spoken at some length on language as a means of gradually making our ideas clear, because this is the first of its functions. My method of instruction makes unusual use of language as a means of raising the child from dim sense impressions to definite ideas ; at the same time, all collections of words which presuppose knowledge of grammar are excluded on principle from elementary instruction. He who perceives that Nature leads only through clear ideas about single objects to definite ideas about the group will also understand, that words must be clear individually to the child before their relationships with other words can be made clear, and he who realizes this will discard at once all existing elementary textbooks, because they presuppose a knowledge of language on the child's part before they have given it to him. Yes, Gessner, it is extraordinary, even the best textbook of last century overlooks the fact that the child must learn to speak before one can talk to him. Such an oversight is extraordinary, but it is true ; and since I saw this, I no longer wonder that men fail to produce better men from the children than they actually do. . . . Language includes within itself all the arts to which our race has attained. In the truest sense, it gives back to us all the impressions which Nature has ever made on the race ; so I use it, and endeavour through its tones to awake in the child these impressions over again.

The value of the gift of language is infinite ; it increases constantly with its increasing perfection. It gives to the child in a few moments that which Nature has required centuries to give to the race. We sometimes say : "What would an ox do if he realized his strength ?" I say : "What would man become if he realized the value of his linguistic gifts and utilized them to the full ?" *We must teach our children to talk.* . . .

FORM.

50. The second elementary means upon which human knowledge, and consequently the method of instruction, is based, is form.

The consciousness of the fact that objects have form precedes actual teaching. It comes from sensory experience. The artificial representation of form for the purpose of instruction must be based partly upon the nature of our observing powers, and partly upon the aim of our instruction.

HOW WE LEARN.

51. All our knowledge has its origin in—

(i.) The impressions made by the objects which chance to affect our senses. Sensory experience from this source is irregular and confused ; progress is limited and slow.

(ii.) The things which parents and teachers purposefully bring into contact with our senses. This is a more or less comprehensive procedure ; it is more or less well arranged in psychological sequence in accordance with the insight and activity of those responsible. The child's advance towards the ultimate end of instruction—definite ideas—is more or less rapid and more or less effective in proportion to this insight and activity.

(iii.) My own determination (quickened by the spontaneous activity of all my faculties) to acquire ideas, knowledge, and practical skill, and to gain first-hand acquaintance with things. Work of this kind gives deeper specific value to my opinions, and, since the resulting ideas have a peculiar freedom, it brings my education into closer touch with the spontaneity of my moral nature.

(iv.) My efforts in respect of my professional work and in all those directions not primarily concerned with gaining experience. This way of gaining knowledge links experience to actual situations and circumstances ; its results are brought into harmony with my ideals of duty.

Moreover, as its course must be adapted to the particular circumstances, and as the results are independent of my will, its influence on the accuracy, completeness, and harmony of my ideas in their advance towards definiteness, is decisive.

(v.) *Analogy.* From our sensory experience we learn the properties of things which have never actually been presented to our senses; we deduce them from resemblances to objects with which we are directly acquainted. This way of using my experience makes the progress of my knowledge (which, as the result of direct contact with things, is purely perceptual) the work of my mind in all the variety of its powers. We must remember, also, that we have as many kinds of experience (*Anscheinung*) as we have mental powers. . . .¹

We must distinguish between these various methods of gaining knowledge from experience, in order that we may formulate general laws for each.

52. In the meantime I will return to my argument. The power to measure is derived from coming into contact with things that have shape, but it is arrived at through the careful organization of that kind of experience—a very different thing both from the potential capacity to acquire knowledge, and from the simple, unorganized, actual experience out of which it grows. Measurement of all kinds and all that results from it are developed from the direction we give to this kind of experience. But this direction leads us farther than mere measurement; it makes imitation of that which we have measured possible—that is, it gives the power to draw; and this we utilize in teaching the art of writing.

¹ The word *Anscheinung*, here translated "experience," always presents formidable difficulties. In the following sentence, not given here, Pestalozzi says: "The word *Anscheinung* is used in a much wider sense than is usual. It includes the feelings, for example." Our word 'experience' covers similar ground—hence its use.

•MEASUREMENT (*i.e.*, SPATIAL JUDGMENT).

53. But in order to measure we need an ABC of observation—*i.e.*, a means of simplifying the process by an exact analysis of the dissimilarities of objects.

Dear Gessner, I will again show you how empirically these conclusions were reached, by quoting an extract from my report :

"Having accepted the principle that sensory experience is the foundation of all knowledge, we must conclude that accuracy in this regard is the real basis of accurate judgment.

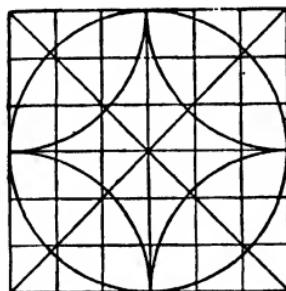
54. "It is obvious that in practical training, if I am to observe an object accurately, I must either measure it or I must have acquired a sense of proportion so keen that I can dispense altogether with measuring. Thus, in practical training, the ability to measure correctly is only of secondary importance to the necessity for direct contact with things. Drawing is a linear definition of form ; how far it will carry us depends absolutely upon our skill in measurement.

55. "The theory that practice and skill in measuring should precede practice in drawing, or at least advance side by side with it, is as clear as is the fact that we disregard the point. We begin our art-training with inaccurate observation and badly-proportioned drawings ; these we destroy, only to start again on even worse foundations, until at last the feeling of proportion, much belated, is acquired, and we finally arrive at what should have been our starting-point—measurement.

"Such is the course we still follow in our art training, in spite of the fact that we live so many centuries later than the ancient Egyptians and Etruscans, whose drawings show proportion to such perfection."

[Pestalozzi goes on to consider what means there are available for cultivating this art of measuring, by which, of course, he means measuring with the eye, which is essential in drawing. He describes his scheme of an alphabet of observation in respect of form. Beginning with straight

lines (horizontal, vertical, and oblique), he goes on to parallel lines and angles (right, acute, and obtuse). Next comes the square, the prototype of all measure forms when it is divided by diagonals, diameters, circles, etc., as in the figure below. Names and definition are to be given and learned



when the pupils are familiar with the objects. These are the elements which enter into the forms of objects, and are to be used in estimating proportion.]

DRAWING.

63. The means to this end are—

(1) Teaching the child to know and name the examples of proportion given.

(2) Leading him to use them independently.

(3) Actual practice in drawing the given forms. If we combine this with the two previous methods, children will acquire, not only definite ideas about each form, but also positive power of working with it correctly.

[Regular practice in estimating numerically the proportions of figures is given. In this way, whenever the child looks at a figure, he can describe the relation of height to breadth, its deviations from the square form, etc. His measure forms become a kind of instinct, as Pestalozzi knows from his own experience.]

66. The art of drawing is the ability to represent in line the appearance of an object—its outline and its re-

lated parts. It will be immeasurably improved by our new method, since it is no more than an easy application of that which the child knows thoroughly and can use in actual measurement. . . .

WRITING.

69. The art of writing is naturally subordinate to that of drawing and to all that leads up thereto. Writing, like drawing, should not be begun without much previous graduated practice in suitable lines, not only because it is a special kind of linear drawing, and does not permit of deviation from prescribed forms, but more ~~especially~~ ^{especially} because if the child learns to write ~~before~~ ^{before} he learns to draw, his hand will be spoiled for the latter. It is habituated to a few special forms before that general flexibility which drawing demands is sufficiently trained.

Moreover, drawing should precede writing because it renders the correct formation of letters incomparably easier, and avoids the great waste of time in the correction of wrong and badly-formed letters.

It is an important part of our method that the child should never have anything to unlearn, but always go on from perfection to perfection.

70. Writing, like drawing, should first be tried on slates, because a slate pencil is easier to control than a pen, and, furthermore, mistakes can always be quickly erased from the slate, whereas on paper they remain before the child's eyes for some time, and bring others in their train in regular progression. A further important advantage is that the child rubs out his good work also, however much he might desire to keep it. He is thus practised in humility, and learns at an early age not to overvalue what he has done.

71. I distinguish two periods in the art of learning to write :

(1) That in which the child learns the forms of letters and their combinations, quite independently of the use of the pen.

(2) That in which he accustoms himself to the writing tool.

72. During the first period, on the principle of enabling the child to help himself as soon as may be, he is given a copybook in which he sees the letters in correct proportion.

(a) He devotes sufficient time to the fundamental forms of letters.

(b) He combines these elements in a series of graduated difficulty, each step forward being a very slight addition to what is already known.

(c) The child learns combinations of letters as soon as he can copy one correctly, and step by step he progresses to combinations in which only the letters which he knows are introduced.

(d) Finally, the pages of the copybook can be cut into single lines, and so placed that the child's writing stands directly under the copy.

73. The second stage in learning to write is that in which the child learns the use of the pen.

He must, of course, link on this new step to that in which he has already had practice. His initial progress will follow the lines he took with the slate-pencil. He should begin by forming letters equal in size to those he drew with his pencil, and only gradually be introduced to the customary writing form.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DEMAND FOR GRADUATION.

74. In all branches of instruction, psychology demands careful analysis into stages, each with its specific instruments and equally careful consideration of the question which stage and which instruments a child of this or that age is fit for. This principle is applied to writing, and by employing a slate-pencil and copybook for children of four and five years old I have come to the conclusion that even a poor teacher and a very inexperienced mother might by this method train children successfully in accurate and beautiful writing without being

able to do it themselves. In this and all matters the prime object is once more to make home education possible to our people, and gradually to put it in the power of mothers who love their children to use elementary exercises themselves . . . and practise them with their children. In order to do this, it is only necessary that they should be one stage in advance of those they are training.

75. Pestalozzi warmly repudiates the critics who say it is impossible. Such a view is a slander on the most docile of European peoples, the Swiss. At any rate, the effort should be made. Until that is done, he will go on his way like a traveller who hears the wind in the distant upland, but feels it not. *He wishes that people would come down from the heights of social dogma and a priori assumption, and learn to stand on the solid earth of fact.*

WRITING AS EXPRESSION.

76. But this is an aberration! Learning to write seems to me, in the third place, a kind of learning to speak. As writing has so far been ranged under form in conjunction with measuring and drawing, and in this association enjoys all the advantages which come from the earlier development of these practical arts, I regard it now as another way of learning to talk, and bring it into relation with all that has been done to develop this power. In addition to the advantages he gets from his training in the practical arts, he enjoys the power he has gained from his work in the mother's book, the spelling-book and reading-book.

77, 78, 79. When the pupil has reached the stage at which copies are no longer wanted, he does written exercises in language similar to those described in §§ 40-45, the object being to enable him to express himself as clearly with his pen as he does by word of mouth.

TENTH LETTER¹

THE ORGANIZATION OF EXPERIENCE

THE ORGANIZATION OF EARLY SENSORY EXPERIENCE
(a) IN RELATION TO SOUND, FORM, AND NUMBER.

SENSORY experience as the common foundation of all instruction must be distinguished from that specifically ordered sensory experience on which we base our instruction in form. Sensory experience in general must, obviously, precede specific arrangements designed to lead up to knowledge, whether of form or of number or of speech. This preliminary experience is nothing but the presence of objects before the senses, and the consequent impression in consciousness. This is the way Nature begins her instruction ; the child enjoys it, and the mother helps it forward. This beautiful spectacle of the mother teaching her child has not so far been studied by teachers. . . .

Quoting from a pamphlet he had previously written, he continues :

From the moment the mother takes her child on her knee she teaches him. She brings things to his notice which otherwise lie scattered confusedly around. Her untutored manner makes the whole process a joy to the child. He gains experience and knowledge easily and delightfully. Yet the mother is simply following her instincts. She does not set out to teach, but to keep the child quiet and occupied. But Nature is doing great things through her. She is revealing the world to her child ; she is training him in the use of his senses, helping in the development of his powers of attention and observation.

What a gain it would be if we could assist parents to continue this work as the child grows older ! But the

¹ Letters VIII. and IX., which are omitted, concern the teaching of arithmetic (VIII.) and a criticism of current educational practice from the standpoint of Pestalozzi's own ideals.

Appenzell woman who hangs a large brightly coloured paper bird above her child's cradle is in advance of us. How much we may learn from watching the babe of two or three weeks stretch out his hands and feel towards that bird! How easy it would be to provide a series of such objects which might become gradually more distinct and extended! That Appenzell bird is for me a holy thing, and I try to begin my instruction at the same point as the Appenzell woman; but, instead of leaving to chance or to maternal love the question of what shall be brought to the child's notice, I try to arrange that the essentials of knowledge are presented to his senses and made unforgettable.

This is the design of the mother's book and the spelling-book.¹ The former is an attempt to organize sense experience under the heads of form, number, and words, leading to the vague apprehension of things the clearer acquaintance with which will form the foundation of their later knowledge. It will not only contain in vague outline the representations of such things as a child should first know, but also the material for an uninterrupted series of such objects as are likely to awaken in him a lively feeling for similarity and unity.

6. The spelling-book follows the same principle, appealing to the ear instead of to the eye. It begins with simple sounds arranged in a comprehensive series such as will form the foundation of the complex sounds of speech which he is to acquire later; in fact, they are to serve the same purpose in the region of auditory sense as the series of objects in the mother's book serve in the sense of sight.

7. The same principle applies to the third elementary means of knowledge (number), which can never be rationally known without a foundation in sensory experience. But before a child can grasp the number relations of a group, he must apprehend its form clearly. For this reason I have in the mother's book illustrated the first ten numbers by means of groups of fingers, leaves, dots etc., hoping in this way to impress the forms of such groups, even at this early age, upon the minds of the children.

¹ *Vide Letter VII.*

(b) IN RELATION TO LANGUAGE, ARITHMETIC, AND DRAWING.

8. My next step is to make sensory experience the basis of our work in the three subjects (drawing, arithmetic, and language), calling now for the exercise of judgment and of practical skill.

9. Having through the mother's book, given the child many visual impressions of objects in association with their names, I introduce him to the alphabet of spatial perception, which enables him to give an ordered account of the forms of objects which he knew vaguely but not clearly before. The child learns to see the forms of all things in relation to the square, and is put into command of an instrument of general usefulness in promoting his advance from vague impressions to clear ideas.

10. And so with number. I follow up the vague impressions of the first ten numbers, which were derived from the pictures in the mother's book, by ordered lessons on each—always adding one unit to another: when he knows one he learns *two*, and so on. The clearest possible conjunction of sensory experience and names is always insisted on. Experience has shown that this psychologically graduated proceeding brings the children rapidly to a point at which they can help themselves.

11. We make a further point of thoroughness at each stage, not only because it gives the children confidence to go on, but also because they can then be left with confidence to teach their younger brothers and sisters. We have further brought the teaching of number and the teaching of form into intimate connection from the outset; moreover, we make use of the square in teaching number and in teaching the observation of form.

12. As to the third primary subject—language—we may note that it begins in the power of making sounds, and passes therefrom to articulate words, and so to language. It took the race ages to perfect their speech powers, but this the child accomplishes in a few months. In our teaching we must follow the order which the race

has followed in the development of language, and the race began with sensory impressions. Man's simplest responses to impressions made upon him from without was the expression resulting from a sense impression. Racial speech began in gesture and imitation. From these it passed to hieroglyphs and separate words. For long periods each individual object had its own special name, as is described in Gen. ii. 19, 20: "The Lord brought to Adam all the beasts of the earth, and all the birds under heaven, that he might look upon them and name them. And Adam gave every beast his name."

13. Next men noticed the outstanding differences in the things they named. Then they came to name the properties of objects, the varieties of activity in animate and inanimate nature. Later on they developed the power of making one word mean many things—the unity and manifoldness, the richness of content, relative form and number of an object; and finally all its changing peculiarities due to changing relations of time and place could be expressed by changing word forms and their relative position in sentences.

At every stage speech was a means of realizing through sound actual progress in the development of clear ideas from man's many-sided intuitions, and a means also of making them permanent possessions.

14. The teaching of language is thus necessarily concerned with organizing the opportunities of expressing impressions (feelings and thoughts), and with giving permanence and directness to what would otherwise be fleeting and indirect, by fitting them to words.

But to achieve this result we must work in harmony with the natural course of linguistic development. It must, that is to say, be founded on sensory experience. By organizing that experience and by number teaching we must make the stage of gesture and imitation superfluous, and conventional sounds must supersede the sounds of Nature. From this stage of mere sound teaching, we pass to word teaching, to the teaching of names, and finally to language proper, including grammar and

composition. Progress must be slow, and the steps must be carefully graduated.

15. In my scheme I have laid great emphasis on the teaching of sound, beginning with the vowels, and gradually adding single consonants to them. All this is done whilst the child is in his cradle. He gets in this way an *inner* sense impression long before he can give it *outer* expression. Moreover, my plan gives first place to the auditory impression, second place to the visual, as is the case in Nature's course. In the spelling-book, again, every succeeding sound is as like as possible to its predecessor; it only differs by a single letter. After syllables are mastered, words (names) follow, arranged to be as like in form as possible. Careful graduation on this plan makes the book easy. Thus, great variety of sensory experience is fundamental to my scheme of language teaching.

16. The immeasurably wide range of knowledge which the child attains through the senses in early years is selected and arranged on psychological principles in the mother's book. In it there are two guiding principles—the natural law of physical nearness and the pedagogic law, which demands that the essential qualities of objects are to be more emphasized than the accidental. In this way the child soon acquires a real mastery over his linguistic attainments and his miscellaneous experiences.

After all, the essentials that underlie the infinite variety of separate objects are not too numerous for children to comprehend.

GRAMMAR.

17. To these principles I subordinate language teaching proper. My grammar consists merely of a series of exercises which are intended to guide the child in expressing himself clearly in respect of the number and time relations of his own sensory experience. I also make use of writing in so far as it is an instrument of expression as an aid to language teaching. Indeed, I have neglected

none of the means which Nature offers in aid of the formation of definite ideas. . . .

19. Dear friend ! we all know that in the first stages of the development of human speech the artificially complex combinations of perfected linguistic power are conspicuously absent. The child understands these complexities as little as the savage ; like the race, it is only gradually and by constant practice in the simpler forms of expression that he learns to comprehend the more complex. Accordingly, my language exercises ignore all knowledge which comes only through systematized grammar. Instead, we investigate the elements of language itself, and the child masters the principles of cultivated speech in exactly the same slow order as Nature has followed with the race. . . .

21. *Pestalozzi fears that his efforts to attach sensory experience to words will be misunderstood. Vested interests in things as they were would also be against him. Nevertheless, he will continue to urge that the men who teach science without having learnt it in direct contact with Nature, or who teach it by magically cramming definitions into the minds of children, or whispering them into their ears in the fashion of stage prompters—these men lower the teaching of science to the level of farce.*

FROM EXPERIENCE TO WORDS THE ONLY WAY.

Whenever we allow intelligence to lie dormant or to be bolstered up with words, we are training up dreamers whose dreams are shadowy and fleeting in proportion as the words which have been thrust into their gaping mouths are big and pretentious. The worst of it is that such pupils do not realize their own position. They think everybody else rather than they themselves are dreaming ; but the people about them who are awake realize their presumption, and clear - sighted people appraise them rightly as sleep-walkers in the full sense of the word.

22. The natural course of man's development does not vary. There cannot, therefore, be two perfect methods of

instruction. There is one only, and that is based upon this unvarying course. There are, however, many bad methods, and the faults of each are proportional to the deviation from the path which Nature follows.

I realize that this perfect method is to be found neither in my hands nor in those of anybody else, and that we can only approximate to it. Nevertheless, to attain that method must be the final object of all who would model their instruction upon reality, and by it satisfy human nature as it is actually constituted. Such, at least, is my aim. To the criticisms which assail my actions and the actions of all those who are striving after this same goal, I have only one reply: "By their fruits ye shall know them." I know only one measure of value for methods of instruction — the common-sense and native art which develop from their use. Any method which stamps upon the brow of the pupil the fact that his natural powers are stifled, and that he is wanting in common-sense and resource, stands self-condemned whatever other advantages it may possess.

I do not deny that we may in this way produce good tailors, shoemakers, merchants, and soldiers, but I do deny that it can produce a tailor or a merchant who is also a man in the best sense of the word. If only men would realize once and for all that the aim of education can never be anything but the development of manliness, and that this originates in and develops through the harmonious cultivation of inborn capacities and talents! If only they would ask themselves at every stage of their practice, "Does what we are doing really lead in the direction of the desired goal?"

23. Let us consider again the influence which definite ideas have upon the development of true humanity. To the child, ideas are definite when experience can add nothing to their clearness.

This principle determines, in the first place, in what order developing capacities are to be called on, in the exercise of which the child's ideas gradually become clear.

Secondly it determines the gradation of the objects

which are to furnish exercises in definition, and finally it settles the time when definitions of any kind can mean anything to the child.

24. Manifestly, the clearness of ideas must have been elaborated in the course of the child's instruction, before we can assume his capacity to understand the next step—*i.e.*, the definite idea, or, rather, its expression in words.

25. The introduction to definite ideas is based upon a system, adapted to the child's understanding, which provides that all objects about which we desire the child to have definite ideas are first of all made clear to him. The system requires that the means we employ in helping children to reach the stage of expressing themselves distinctly concerning the qualities of objects, and more particularly concerning size, number, and form, should harmonize with each other. In no other way can children acquire a comprehensive knowledge of an object such as is succinctly and clearly expressed in its definition. All definitions contain essential truths for a child, only in so far as he is fully and vividly aware of their sensory background.

If this is not so, he is learning merely to play with words, to deceive himself, and to put his faith in sounds which rouse no idea in his mind or occasion any other thought than that a sound has been uttered.

HINC ILLÆ LACRIMÆ !

26. In rainy weather toadstools spring up on every dung-heap, and in the same way merely verbal definitions generate a mushroom-like wisdom which soon dies in the sunshine. A clear sky is poison to it. The bombast of such superficial wisdom produces men who imagine they have reached the goal in every branch of life because they talk so much about it; but really they never succeed in getting there, because they have never had that compelling stimulus of sensory experience which is necessary to manly effort.

The power of description must precede definition. I can describe what is quite clear to me, though I may not be able to define it; *i.e.*, I can speak with certainty about its individual properties, but I cannot say what it is. I

know only the individual object ; I cannot yet assign it to its species nor give its distinguishing characteristics. On the other hand, I cannot describe, much less define, an object which is not quite clear to me—unless, that is to say, I can speak with confidence about its properties.

If I should learn a definition which is satisfactory to those who have a competent acquaintance with the object defined, I do not for that reason get a definite idea of it myself. Such a definition is not for me an expression of the perfect clearness of my ideas.

27. The procedure by which men are led to acquire definite ideas and to express them in words—if it is psychologically sound, and if it is in accord with man's natural constitution—consists of a graduated series of presentations of the physical world ; such a series must precede definition, and it must progress from the presentation of individual objects to their nomenclature, from this to the noting of their characteristics—that is, to their description—and finally to the stage of definition. The wise arrangement of sensory experience is thus the foundation upon which this sequence must be built. It is equally clear that the ultimate fruit of all instruction—the definiteness of all ideas—depends upon perfection in the first stages.

28. In the world of Nature, imperfection in the bud means imperfect maturity. Whatever is imperfect in the germ is crippled in its growth—*i.e.*, in the development of its component parts. This is just as true of the growth of the intellect as it is of the growth of an apple.

To avoid confusion, gaps and superficiality in education, we must therefore take care to make first impressions of objects as correct and as complete as possible. We must begin with the infant in the cradle, and take the training of our race out of the hands of blind, sportive Nature, and bring it under that power which the experience of centuries has taught us to abstract from Nature's own processes.

29. We must carefully distinguish between the laws of Nature and her course of action—that is, between her

individual operations and the general view of them. Her laws are eternally true. They are, and must always be, our unerring guides, but the course which she takes in any particular case is not for us a safe guide to a general principle of action. The reality which underlies specific situations is to be conceived as of the same order of necessity as the laws which govern human nature as a whole. If there is apparent conflict between these two necessities, they must be harmonized, or the idea of law will not work satisfactorily on the human race. Solicitude for this harmony is imperative. The casual and all that results from it is, in fact, as necessary as what we recognize to be permanent and unvarying, and these two elements must be brought into harmony by free human effort.

30. Nature as our senses reveal her, from which we derive the laws that govern existence and the consequences of casual events, seems to devote her whole attention to the type, and to be unconcerned about the individual for his own sake ; his fate she determines, as it were, from without.¹ Nature is blind in this respect ; she cannot, therefore, come into harmony with the intellectual and moral nature of man. It is only the intellectual and moral nature which is able to bring the sensory into harmony with itself. That, indeed, is its purpose.

The laws of our physical life must therefore be subordinated to the laws of our moral and intellectual life. Until this is accomplished, our sensory nature can never be brought into service for the ultimate object of education—true humanity. Man only becomes man through his inner spiritual life ; this, and this only, makes him independent, free, and content. His sensory nature cannot take him so far, nor does it lead towards the same goal. Its method is blind ; its ways are ways of darkness and of death.

The education and guidance of our race must, therefore, be wrenched from the deadening influence of its control. It must be placed in the hands of the eternal light and truth of the Divine spirit that is within us.

¹ Cf. Tennyson: *In Memoriam*, iv.

31. Everything which is left to the uncontrolled action of blind Nature perishes. This is true of the inorganic as well as of the organic world. If we leave the soil to Nature, weeds and thistles are produced ; and when we leave the education of the race to her, she offers a confused medley of impressions which is more difficult to understand than preliminary instruction should be.

If we wish to lead a child to a right and full conception of a tree or of a plant, we should not let him go without preparation into the meadow or the wood where trees and plants of all kinds grow in profusion. Neither trees nor plants are presented to his eyes in a way which is likely to lead him to observe the characteristics of each species, and thus to lay the foundations of a general knowledge of botany.

In order to lead the child by the shortest way to the end of instruction—definito ideas—we must first of all put before the child's eyes, objects which embody in a striking way the most essential characteristics of the species to which the object belongs. In this way we attract his particular notice to the intrinsic properties of the object as opposed to those which are merely accidental. If we neglect this, we are very liable to cause the child at first sight to regard accidental qualities as essential ; we actually hinder his advance to a knowledge of truth, and prevent him from advancing rapidly to definite ideas from the confusion of mere sense impression.

32. If, however, this error has been avoided, and if all objects are presented to him in such a way that essentials stand out clearly, the child learns from the beginning to subordinate the accidental properties to the permanent. Thus we put him on the way of learning simply and effectively the right relation of special individual characteristics to the true nature of things. He learns, in fact, to read all Nature as he does his open book.

A child left to his own devices looks with unintelligent eyes at the world, and falls daily from one error into another, through the confusion of isolated fragments of knowledge he picks up ; whereas a child who has been

brought up in the proper way advances daily from truth to truth. •

Everything which comes within his range of experience is related clearly and intelligently to essentials, and there are so far no errors in the background of his ideas. The primary cause of error, both in the character of his views and in himself, is removed. Native tendencies to err have not been fostered in his school training, and the *nihil admirari* which only a crippled old age nowadays ventures to say, will also voice the attitude of innocent youth. Once a child has reached this stage, he is sure with ordinary ability to attain our ultimate object — definite ideas. For the moment, it does not matter whether these lead us to deny that we know everything, or to claim omniscience. To help in this great achievement, I have planned in the mother's book a graduated and perfectly continuous series of lessons, in which all the points I have raised are met successfully. By its means I can strengthen the capacity of gaining knowledge through sensory experience to such an extent that children who work with it will finally throw the book away, and find in Nature and in their environment a better indication of my object than that which the book provides. My friend, the book is not yet published, and (you see) I am already imagining it superseded.

TWELFTH LETTER¹

• PRACTICAL CAPACITY

[*The first two paragraphs are given up to a lament on the degraded use to which language was put in that day—empty, idle talk. Pestalozzi then returns to his problem.*]

3. In my experimental investigations I did not start from any preconceived theory. I knew none. I put the question, "What steps would you take in order to culti-

• ¹ Letter XI. is omitted. It reaffirms his social and philanthropic motives.

vate in a child the knowledge which he will need if he is to live the happy and contented life that comes from a sense of efficiency in all essentials?"

4. But so far I have only dealt with one side of this question—the intellectual—to the utter neglect of that which concerns practical capacities, excepting so far as they were incidentally associated with the subjects of instruction.¹ I must therefore attack this aspect of the problem.

5. To have knowledge without practical power, to have insight, and yet to be incapable of applying it in everyday life! What more dreadful fate could an unfriendly spirit devise for us? Men's needs and cravings are many. They must know and think to satisfy them, but they must also act. Knowledge and action are so closely connected that if one ceases the other ceases also. That can, however, never happen if practical skill keeps pace with growing needs.

6. The training of practical skill is based upon the same laws as the training of the intellect. Nature affects in much the same way plants, unreasoning beasts, and man, though man is not only sensitive to external impressions, but is also capable of voluntary action. Nature's consistency is also seen in the threefold results she may produce in me. It may be a purely mechanical result, such as that which she produces upon animals, or it may, through sensory impressions, partially determine my judgment, my inclinations, and my will, or she may lead me to acquire skill, inasmuch as my will accepts the recognized needs of my situation. But this acquisition of skill must not be left to Nature. She is too capricious in her action so far as the individual is concerned. We must transfer it to the care of those intelligent powers which men acquired long ago, to their common advantage.

7. How far soever the refinements of our civilization have led men away from the natural ideal, they have never ceased to feel the necessity of training practical

¹ E.g., drawing; *vide* p. 120.

capacity. The individual is still less likely to lose this feeling. His moral, intellectual, and practical nature impels him to a way of life in which the importance of efficiency in practical matters is impressed more and more strongly upon him. Experience encourages him to trust this side of his education neither to the vagaries of Nature nor to those over-civilized people who have blindly given themselves to sensuous enjoyments. He prefers to make it a first charge on man's intelligence and ingenuity. Mankind in the mass is much more susceptible than the individual to the one-sided demands of our sensuous nature, in spite of the degeneracy which follows. Even governments tend to give more attention than individual men to this side of man's nature. On a matter concerning which a father would not be likely to err in respect of his son, or a master in respect of his pupil, a government is apt to blunder in respect of its subjects. After all, that is inevitable. The sensuous side of human nature acts upon the individual with much greater delicacy and purity than it can ever exert upon masses or communities of men. The primary impulses of instinct are infinitely purer and more powerful in the individual than is possible in any large aggregate or in any community of men where it is apt to lose its original purity and innocence. It ceases to harmonize with the whole range of human powers as it ideally should. That is to say, the Divine element in instinct from which this harmonious influence springs, is impaired in its nature and in its action by over-emphasis of some sort, whenever a body of men is collectively concerned. Instead of quickening life, it deadens it by giving us *esprit de corps*. Instinct affects masses of men with that paralysis which all combinations of men fall into, and its influence upon truth and justice, and therefore upon national enlightenment and national happiness, is crippled. The widely different effect which instinct produces upon individuals and upon organized communities respectively, is of the highest importance; it deserves far wider consideration than it enjoys. The difference throws much light upon many things in life,

and in particular upon the public acts of governments, which are otherwise inexplicable.

It is for this reason that we must not expect too much from governments in respect of the care of the individual, of popular education, of social reform, and of the welfare of individuals. In all these things governments are less effective than persons. Human nature and history alike tell us that governments can never accomplish what is achieved by private energy and enthusiasm. All that we can ask is that the state shall not for this reason allow the degradation of the individual. This calamity may be avoided by encouraging each one to contribute according to his power to the public good. The state should neglect no means in its power of cultivating individual judgment, individual good-will and efficiency, that each of its subjects may be able to contribute his share towards the common well-being.

However, I am sorry to have to admit that the governments of modern times are far from being sufficiently strong or sufficiently keen to take action in this matter. . . .

AN ABC OF PRACTICAL CAPACITY.

8. The practical capacity which is essential to efficiency in a man of cultivated mind and elevated feelings can no more be produced without direction than can the soundness of judgment and accuracy of knowledge which practical efficiency presupposes. Just as the cultivation of the mental faculties and of drawing capacity depends on a carefully graduated psychological sequence of exercises, so the cultivation of practical efficiency depends upon an alphabet of practical skill which would consist of the elements common to all forms of doing, extending from the most simple to the most complex. Facility in all dexterities essential to their education would then increase daily. But such an alphabet of practical efficiency is not yet discovered. Nor is this strange, for no one has looked for it. If it were sought as eagerly as the business man seeks to show a good balance-sheet, it

would be easily found—to our great advantage. It must start from the simplest forms of expressive movement ; striking, carrying, throwing, twirling, pulling, twisting, wrestling, swinging, etc., are admirable examples of simple forms in which one's physical powers are expressed. Whilst they are essentially different from each other, they contain collectively and individually the elements of all movements—including the most complicated forms—which are essential to us in our vocations.

The alphabet of practical efficiency must begin with exercises in a psychologically arranged series, which shall include not only the elements common to all movements, but also particular examples of actual dexterities, both general and particular. The alphabet of physical exercises must naturally be in harmony with the alphabet of exercises used in " training the senses," and with all other organized exercises for the mind, including those used in the teaching of number and form.

9. But just as we have much to learn from the Appenzell woman and her paper bird in the organization of a child's sensory experience, so in the ABC of practical efficiency we may learn much from uncivilized races who excel in the arts of striking, throwing, twisting, pulling, etc. It is the gradual advance from the simplest to the most perfect of these exercises—*i.e.*, to those demanding the highest possible degree of " nerve tact"—which gives accuracy and versatility to every form of stroke and thrust, swing and throw, and makes hand and foot as accurate in asymmetrical as in symmetrical movements.

As far as popular instruction is concerned, such things are at present mere flights of fancy. We have only spelling schools, writing schools and catechism schools, while for our purpose we require schools for human beings.

10. Training in practical efficiency follows precisely the same course as that of the intellect ; its first steps, from the point of view of self-education, carry you farther than the first steps in the acquisition of knowledge. Practical skill always requires action ; knowledge may often be acquired passively. For knowledge it is often

only necessary to see and hear, whereas for practical efficiency *you* are the very heart of the matter. It is not only that your skill is increased, but you also determine in many cases its external use within the limits prescribed by circumstance. Just as, when we look out upon inanimate Nature, situation, needs and circumstances, determine the specific qualities of the particular view, so in animate Nature which prompts the development of our faculties, do these same factors determine the specific nature of the dexterities which we may individually need

RELATION OF TRAINING TO LIFE.

11. This point of view throws light both upon the method of training our dexterities and upon the mode of putting them to use. Every influence which detracts from individual responsibility for all that we have to do, to bear and to make provision for in life, is detrimental in its effects on training. It is true in like manner of influences which withdraw attention from the particular activities which circumstances and duties require of us, or which put us out of harmony with our surroundings, and make us in any way unfitted for them. They constitute a deviation from, and an obstacle to, the normal course of self-development. They stand in the way of my professional training and of my moral development. My individuality itself, and the manifold relations into which it enters, are a product of the real situations of life; to lose sight of them is to be neglectful of things as they really are—a delusive proceeding fraught with danger to the self we are endeavouring to educate.

All instruction and culture, every mode of life, every use we make of our powers which carries with it the seeds of discord between our training and our activities on the one hand, and the realities of life, our circumstances and our duties on the other hand, should be a source of anxiety to parents who have the welfare of their children at heart, more particularly because the immeasurable evils of our sham enlightenment, the miseries of our mas-

querade revolution, arise from errors of this type in the education and in the life of our people. Just as the intellectual training must be based upon an alphabet of sensory experience, and must, in the light of first principles, endeavour to put the child in command of definite ideas in all their sublime purity, so for the training of our physical powers, upon which the empirical foundations of our virtue depend, we must seek out an alphabet for the development of practical skill, on the basis of which we may provide an empirical training in those dexterities which the actualities of life demand. They will constitute the leading-strings for our moral infancy, until, ennobled by their influence, we grow independent of them.

On these principles we can develop a universal method of training those physical activities which are essential for our life's work. *It will progress from perfected practical skill to the recognition of rules*, just as the education of the mind advances from perfected sensory-experience to definite ideas, and from these to their verbal expression as definitions. And as definitions not based on sensory experience make men conceited windbags, so when talk about virtue and faith precedes the quickening experience of actual virtue and actual faith, men will fall into similar confusions, and never know the reality.

The pretentiousness of such a state of mind, by its irreverence and hollowness, gradually leads even the virtuous and faithful to the widespread evils of presumption. Experience confirms this view, and I believe also that gaps in the empirical beginnings of moral training must have the same results as gaps in the empirical beginnings of knowledge and science.

12. However, I see that I am approaching a far greater problem than that which I think I have so far solved—namely, "How can the child be so educated that, having regard to his vocation and to the changefulness of his circumstances, he may be in a position to meet the rightful demands which are made upon him, with ease and almost as a matter of course."

I am attempting the task of fashioning the babe who is still in swaddling clothes into a wife approved of her husband, a strong mother well fitted for her duties, or into a father who is a worthy husband and a model parent.

What a great work this is—to fill men with the spirit of their future calling, so that it becomes second nature to them ! Still nobler is the work of instilling virtue into the very life's blood, before the lust of sensuous pleasures develops and makes virtue impossible.

Friend, this problem is solved. These same laws of physical mechanism which develop in me the empirical foundations of wisdom govern the means for assisting me in virtue. I must leave detail for another time.

THIRTEENTH LETTER

MORAL EDUCATION

PRIMARY EMOTIONAL FOUNDATIONS.

1. ALTHOUGH it would take too long to enter fully into the question raised at the end of my last letter, I will not finish without referring to what I regard as the cornerstone of the whole system—the question, “What is the connection between honouring God and the principles which I have accepted as governing the development of the human race ?”

Here again I look for the solution of the problem in myself. How does the conception of God originate in my mind ? How does it come to pass that I believe in a God, that I throw myself upon Him, and rejoice in my love for and confidence in Him ?

2. Clearly, these feelings of love, of confidence, of gratitude, and this tendency to obey, must be developed in me before I can apply them to God. I must love and trust man, I must feel grateful to him and obey him, before I can feel thus towards God ; for “ who so loveth not his

brother whom he hath seen, how can he love his Father in heaven whom he hath not seen?"

3. Why, then, do I love and trust man, feel grateful to him and obey him? How do these feelings develop in me, and how do I learn to be obedient? Surely these feelings arise, in the first place, from the relationship between the infant and its mother.

4. The mother's instinct compels her to tend and nourish her child as well as to amuse it. Under her care its needs are provided for, and it is shielded from all unpleasantness; it is happy, and the *germ of love* develops.

5. An object new and strange appears; the child is surprised and frightened. It cries. Its mother presses it to her breast, fondles it, and draws its attention away. The baby stops crying, though its eyes are watery for a long time. The object appears again. The mother again takes the child in her protecting arms, and smiles upon him. He weeps no longer, but responds to that smile with undimmed eye. The *germ of trust* develops.

6. The mother hurries to the cradle at the child's every need: she is there when he is hungry, she attends to his thirst; if he hears her footstep he is quiet; when he sees her he stretches out his hands, his eyes light up at the sight of her bosom; he is satisfied. "Mother" and "contentment" are one and the same thing to him; he is *grateful*.

7. The germs of love, of confidence, of gratitude, quickly develop. The child knows his mother's footstep, he smiles when she appears; he loves those who resemble her, for they too must be good. His mother's face brings a smile, all faces bring smiles; whom the mother loves is dear to him; whom the mother embraces he embraces; whom the mother kisses he kisses. The *germ of human brotherly love* develops in him.

How OBEDIENCE DEVELOPS.

8. Obedience is in its origin a force which opposes the tendencies of our lower nature. Its development depends upon artifice. It does not spring directly from instinct, though it is intimately associated with it. Its initial development is very similar to that of instinct. Just as *need* is the herald of love, *protection* of gratitude, and *care* of confidence, so is passionate desire the forerunner of obedience. The child cries before he learns to bide his time, and he is impatient before he learns obedience. Patience comes before obedience. At first it is merely passive ; it arises mainly from the feeling of dire necessity. But this comes first on the mother's breast. The child must wait until she lays bare her bosom ; he must wait until she takes him up. Much later active obedience develops in him, and much later still there comes the actual feeling that it is a good thing to obey his mother.

9. Human development begins in a passionate desire for the satisfaction of physical needs. The maternal breast quells the first of these needs and begets love ; soon afterwards fear is felt, and the mother's arm softens its terrors ; love is thus united with confidence, and gratitude unfolds.

10. Nature remains indifferent to children's passionate outbursts ; they smite the wood and stone about them to no effect, and they soon give up. Similarly his mother is unmoved by his undisciplined demands ; he rages and storms again ineffectively, and he gives that up, learning instead to subordinate his will to hers. The first *germs of patience*, the first *germs of obedience*, are developed.

DEVELOPMENT OF CONSCIENCE.

11. Obedience and love, the blend of gratitude and confidence, produce the first germ of conscience, the first feeling that it is not right to struggle against a loving mother, the first dim idea that his mother is not in the

world solely on his account—a notion which brings with it the feeling that he himself is not here entirely for his own sake. Vague ideas of duty and of right are being formed.

12. These are the foundations of moral self-development, brought about by the natural relationship of infant and mother. From this experience, and this alone, there springs that attitude towards God which is characteristic of the attitude of dependent creatures towards their Creator. Thus we see how the germ of devotion to God through faith is essentially the same as that which produced the devotion of the child to his mother. Moreover, they develop in the same way.

THE DAWNING IDEA OF GOD.

13. In both cases the infant hears, believes, and obeys, but he does not know at this point what he believes or what it is that he is doing. Meanwhile every condition which produced his faith begins to disappear. The child becomes less dependent ; he lets go his mother's hand, he begins to realize his own powers, and the idea that he no longer requires his mother begins to dawn upon him. The mother reads this in his eyes. She presses her dear one closer than ever to her bosom, and says, in tones which are new to him : "Little one, there is One whom you need when you no longer require me ; there is One who will take you in His arms when I am no longer able to protect ; there is a God who will care for your happiness and joy when it is no longer in my power to do so." Then the child's heart swells with an inexpressible something, a holy yearning towards faith which exalts him above himself ; he rejoices in the name of God as it comes from his mother's lips ; the feeling of love, of gratitude, of confidence, which were engendered on her breast have now a broader meaning. From this time on, they take in God as Father and God as Mother.

The virtue of obedience takes a wider scope ; the child who now believes in the eye of God as in the eye of his

mother does right for the sake of God, just as before he did right for the sake of his mother.

14. The mother's pious and loving attempt to unite the beginnings of self-activity with recently-developed moral feelings through his native inclination to faith in God, reveals fundamental principles which instruction and education must carefully study, if they are serious in their endeavour to elevate men.

15. Just as love, gratitude, trust and obedience, grew out of the blending of instinctive feelings between mother and child, so is their broader development a sublime human art. It is an art, however, the key to which is lost if for one single instant we lose sight of those beginnings. There is grave danger that this may happen even very early. The child lisps his mother's name. He loves, is grateful, trusts and obeys. He lisps the name of God—loves, trusts and obeys Him. But these feelings lose their force when the idea that he no longer requires his mother first suggests itself. The world which now surrounds him appeals to him with all the fresh fascination of its sensuous charms : " Now you are mine ! "

DANGERS OF CHILD'S GROWING INDEPENDENCE.

16. The child listens to the voice of the world in its new guise. This is inevitable. The instincts of the helpless infant have disappeared, and the instincts that belong to his developing forces take its place ; the germ of morality, in so far as it emanates from feelings peculiar to infancy, rapidly decays, unless we succeed in attaching the first pulsings of his higher moral feelings, as the threads of life, to the golden spindle of Creation. Mother, mother, the world begins now to divide you from your child, and if at this moment his nobler feelings are not linked on to his new view of the world, the tragedy has occurred. The new world replaces mother and God ; sensuous enjoyment and self-will become his god.

17. Mother, mother, he has lost you, he has lost God, he has lost himself. The flame of love has been ex-

tinguished in him. God no longer exists for him ; the germ of self-reverence has withered in him. He is on the road to destruction, impelled by an irresistible craving for sensuous enjoyment. Here at the transition between the vanishing emotions of infancy and the independent realization of the charms of the world—this is where the ground in which the nobler feelings of our nature are rooted, begins to give way under the child's feet ; this is the moment when the mother begins to lose importance in her child's eyes ; here, on the other hand, confidence in the newly-revealed world begins to develop, and its fascination begins to still both his trust in his mother and his trust in the unseen and unknown God, just as a mass of hardy weeds, with strong, intertwining roots, stifle and overpower the finer and more delicate growth of cultivated plants. At this crisis the mother must employ all her art and all her power to preserve in the child the feelings of gratitude, love, trust, and obedience, in all their purity.

18. God is in these feelings, and the whole force of our moral life is bound up with their preservation. When the circumstances which prompt these feelings in the infant are passing away, art should do its utmost to provide new stimuli, and not allow the charms of the new world to appeal to the child except in conjunction with them.

19. We can no longer trust Nature. Instead, we must do all that is possible to snatch the reins from the hand of this blind guide, and to put them into the disciplinary hands of such powers as the experience of centuries has given us. The world which is revealed to the child's eyes is not the world of God's creation ; it is a world which has grown corrupt both in respect of the innocent pleasures of the senses and of the deeper emotions, a world full of strife for the means of self-gratification, full of inconstancy, full of violence, full of presumptuous lying and deceit. It is not the world of God's creation that entices your child, but a world given up to the giddy round of pleasure, in the depths of which dwell hatred and moral death.

20. Poor child, the nursery is your world, but your father is busy in his workshop ; to-day your mother is worried, to-morrow she has visitors, the next day she is captious ; you are bored, you ask questions, your nurse will not answer ; you wish to go into the street ; you are forbidden ; now you are quarrelling with your sister for a toy ! Poor child, what a miserable, heathen, and soul-corrupting thing is your world ! Would it be better if you drove round in a gilded chariot under shady trees ? Your governess deceives your mother ; you suffer less than other sufferers, but you are worse off. What have you gained ? Your world is more of a burden to you than it is to other sufferers.

21. This world is so atrophied by the corrupting influence and oppressive restraints of insincerity that innocent purity of heart no longer concerns us. On the contrary (like a heartless stepmother), we abandon the child to sheer neglect, and wreck almost its only chance of moral preservation. We make no effort to counteract the appeal of the world. The partial but vivid joys of sense are much keener than those which belong to intellectual or moral training. From this time on, the opportunities for the gratification of selfish and unworthy passions become more and more extensive, and their attractiveness steadily increases. All these experiences which should give life, force and insight to moral and intellectual development are of no effect. The narrow gate which leads to morality is, as it were, locked ; the path of reason is forcibly separated from that of love ; the training of the intellect from that of the disposition to believe in God. A more or less worthy egoism becomes the only motive for applying his practical skill ; thus his education actually determines a means to his own destruction.

PRINCIPLES OF MORAL EDUCATION.

22. It is incredible that men should not recognize this common source of their own ruin ; it is incredible that they do not apply their skill to prevent it by founding education

upon principles which would not destroy the work of God—those native impulses towards love, gratitude and trust, in the infant—but which would rather tend to give unity to our mental and spiritual uplifting, and to bring instruction and education into harmony, on the one hand with the laws which govern our intellectual advance from confused sense impression to definite ideas, and on the other hand with the emotions whose development is essential to the recognition and honouring of the moral law.

It is incomprehensible that men do not bend their energies to the laying down of a continuous unbroken series of exercises for developing both the intellect and the emotions which should rest the advantages of organized instruction on the maintenance of moral perfection, which should preserve the egoism of mere reason from the ruinous errors of one-sidedness by keeping the heart pure, and, above all, should subordinate external impression to principles, desires to goodness of heart, and goodness of heart to uprightness of will.

23. The need for this subjection lies deep-rooted in my nature. As my sensory faculties develop, their importance must decrease in relation to my spiritual training—that is, they must be subordinate to a higher law. In the same way every stage of my development must be perfected before it can be utilized to a higher end. The subjection of what is now perfect to that which is in the process of perfection, demands above all things firm adherence to first principles, and the most rigid continuity of progress from these starting-points to their ultimate perfection.

The first law of this continuity is that the earliest instruction given to the child must never be an appeal to his reason ; it must concern his senses, his feelings ; it is his mother's affair.

24. The second law is that the instruction moves but slowly from the realm of sense to the realm of judgment ; it must remain for a long time a concern of the heart before it is handed over to the intellect ; it must long remain a woman's duty before it is taken over by a man.

25. What more shall I say? The eternal laws of Nature lead me back once more to the Land of the mother. Only by your side, my mother, can I preserve my innocence, my love, my obedience, the impulses of the Divine nature in me alongside the new revelation of the world. Mother, while your hand and your heart are still mine, let me not stray from you; and if no one has taught you to know the world as I must learn to know it, come and let us learn to know it together as you should have done, and as I must do. Mother, at the moments when, through the new revelation of the world, the danger of being drawn away from you, from God, and from my true self, is great, let us cling close to each other. Mother, let the passage from your loving care to the wide world be made holy by the preservation of my place in your heart.

FOURTEENTH LETTER

MORAL TRAINING (*Continued*)

This letter is in the main devoted to a brief recapitulation of the principles of early moral education, extending the view to a point a little farther removed from the close dependence of the child upon his mother. In the course of it he writes :

2. THE source of the feelings which give rise to religion and morality is the same as that from which all my ideas about teaching spring. It lies in the natural relationship between mother and child, and my method consists in connecting instruction with this relationship, building continuously, that is to say, upon a state of mind that resembles our dependence upon God. As the child becomes less physically dependent upon his mother, the method does all that is possible to prevent the loftier feelings that sprang from this dependence from decay, by supplying them with new stimuli. At the critical

period of detachment it endeavours to bring the new world into connection with the child's feelings, to present it as God's original creation rather than as a degenerate world full of lies and deceit.

3. It endeavours to renew the bond between mother and child when circumstances tend to break it, and to put in the hands of the mother a means of giving prominence to her loving relations with her child, until the practical experience which makes virtue easy, in combination with the practical experience which leads to knowledge, shall ripen his judgment concerning right and duty. . . .

"SELF-PERFECTION" AS THE FIRST PRINCIPLE OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT

5. The mother has taught the child to lisp the name of God at her bosom ; now she points to the All-loving in the rising sun, the rippling brook, the branches of the trees, the splendour of the flowers ; in the drops of morning dew . . . in his own body, in everything, she shows him God ; and wherever he sees God his heart swells within him. Joy in God's world is mingled with joy in God. One and the same emotion includes God, the world, and his mother. The old bond that was rent is renewed. His love for his mother is greater than ever. He has reached a higher level through the very world which would have been his ruin had his mother not been his guide. Now she teaches him to talk. The hand that pressed him to her heart now shows him pictures. He learns words, and through them is conscious of what he sees. Thus begins the union of his intellectual and moral training. Mother and he learn together ; in company they increase daily in knowledge, power, and love. With him she tries to draw straight and curved lines. The child progresses faster than she, to their common joy. New powers develop within him ; he draws, measures, reckons. As she showed her child God in the world, now the mother shows him God in his drawing, measuring, and reckoning—in all that he does. His own progress from perfection to per-

fection brings him into relationship with God. The law of perfection is the law for his guidance. He recognizes that in the first completed drawing, in a straight or curved line—yes, my friend, with the first completed drawing of a line—with the first perfect utterance of a word, there arises in his mind the idea of the sublime law : “ Be ye also perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect.” And since my method is based upon constant striving after perfection, at each step it is of the greatest service in impressing the spirit of this law upon the child’s mind from infancy onward.

THE PERFECTION OF OTHERS AS THE SECOND
PRINCIPLE OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT.

6. There is a second law of moral development intimately associated with the first—viz., Man is not in the world for his own sake ; it is only through perfecting his fellow-men that he himself becomes perfect. My method is eminently calculated to make these two laws unite as second nature to the children, almost before they know their right hands from their left. The child brought up on my plan teaches his little brother and sister, and helps his mother almost before he can speak.

7. . . . Under my method the child remains his mother’s child longer. The road to true human love and wisdom is opened. Man becomes the father of the poor, the support of those who suffer. As the mother instinctively leaves her healthy children and watches over the weaklings, doubling her care for them because she stands in God’s place to the children, so God fills my heart. A feeling like that of the mother impels me. All men are my brothers, but I serve the unfortunate with double care ; it is my nature to act like God. I am a child of my mother. I believed in her ; her heart revealed God unto me. God is the god of my mother, of my heart, and of her heart. I know none other. The god of my brain is a chimera, an idol. To worship him is ruin. The god of my heart is my God. In His love I grow perfect. . . .

8. Mother, as I love you, so I love God. Mother and obedience, God and duty, are to me one and the same. . . . No more I live for myself ; I lose myself for my brethren and for Him ; the more I lose myself and become His, the more Divine my nature grows, and the more in harmony do I feel with myself and my fellow-men. . . .

10. I have recognized the Eternal in myself.

11. We cannot see God through knowledge ; He lives only for those who have faith—simple, childlike faith.

12. . . . "The human heart demands and creates a personified, sublime type, which it can love, obey, confide in, and adore. His will is holy. He is the soul of the spiritual world."

Ask a good man, "Why is duty your ideal ? Why do you believe in God ?" If he produces proofs, it is the school, not himself, that speaks, and his arguments are rent asunder by a practised debater. For a moment he trembles, but his heart cannot deny the Divine, and he returns to Him with yearning, as he does to his mother.

What, then, is the origin of the Christian's belief in God ? Not in the intellect, but in that inexplicable impulse which cannot be expressed in words or reduced to concepts, the impulse to glorify and immortalize His existence in the higher eternal existence of the whole—not for me, but for my brother-men ! not for the individual, but for the race ! This is the unqualified expression of the Divine voice within. In understanding and obeying this voice lies the only nobility of our race.¹

¹ These last paragraphs are Pestalozzi's eloquent protest against the "rational God" of the eighteenth century "enlightenment."

III—"VIEWS AND EXPERIENCES"

[The six letters following are, according to Hunziker, part of a scheme for a methodical revision of How Gertrude Teaches her Children. The project was begun in 1805, during the first year at Yverdun. He was living quietly with Krüsi at the time, and readers of the letters will find in them an atmosphere of repose, a systematic ordering of his thought, which is too rare in his writings. As he says in the Address of 1818, Festina lente had never been his guide in life. If ever it were, it was surely here.]

The letters are remarkable for their clearness of expression, and for the admirable child psychology they contain, particularly in Letters V., VI., and VII. The reader will notice, too, how Pestalozzi excels in the concrete rather than in the philosophical analysis of his ideals. Compare, for example, Letters III. and IV.

The letters are preceded by a long introduction, at the close of which he expresses a wish for the establishment of an institution for the education of poor children, which should serve also as a centre of investigation and propaganda for the method. Of this need he speaks at greater length in appendices, from the third of which a long extract is translated. It relates to the need for special training for schoolmasters.]

THIRD LETTER

PESTALOZZI DEFINES HIS IDEAL MAN

1. In order to determine from experience what is essential to a good education, you must observe men in all the realities of life, and look for the man who in the midst of

its labours and sufferings stands out among his fellow-men as one who is all that he should be. If, however, you should hear someone say of one who is present, "I could wish all men were like him," you must remember that his presence influences the minds of those who testify of him. But if you hear it said at his tomb, in the midst of those who are shedding bitter tears for him—children, old men, and poor folk—then you may take it as true.

2. Of course, thousands will say at this point : "We have never heard any man spoken of in that way. Men do not speak like that, even of the few who may deserve it." To this I answer : " Does no man die for whom the poor weep ? Does no man die of whom the old man who knew him, the widow who loved him, the orphan who honoured him, and the neighbour who lived with him, say with tears at his graveside : ' Would that I had another like him ! If only all men were as he was ! ' "

3. You say : " The best and noblest men often die misunderstood and misrepresented." True, but this only makes their friends sorry for those who err.

Let us, however, pass by those who suffer in this way, for it is not they whom I have in mind. Men who live nobly and yet die under a cloud of calumny have not lived an ordinary life. They have experienced heights of exaltation and depths of suffering beyond the common lot. They are not typical, and I must pass them by.

4. Other men live and die who, without suffering as these have suffered, carry this testimony with them to the grave : " They were a pattern to all their fellows."

But you will not find them in the bustle of the world ; you must seek them rather in quiet, peaceful cottages. Not that men who live in turmoil, and even men who occupy the world's high places, have never been so spoken of ; but the vastness of the concourse dulls in death the purity of their lives and the sense of the reality of their human connections, even as it did during their lives.

It is true that in the lowly cottage there is rarely found a man of whom the people who knew him bear this testimony ; but if you seek him there, and if your own dis-

position is such that you can recognize him when you see him, you will not search in vain. In more places than you would ever have imagined you will hear the words uttered : "That was a man, a woman, such as all others should be!"

5. Trust this saying ; it will not lead you astray ; it will guide you to the course which you should adopt for your child if you wish that he should win a like honour. But do not stop here. Go to the oldest and most reliable man among those who have spoken, and ask him what it really is that the people praise so highly.

6. Of a certainty he will answer : "He was a man upon whose judgment, kindness, and sense of duty, one could implicitly rely." Of a certainty he will answer : "This man showed in all his judgments, in all his counsels, in all his undertakings, a sound and practised intelligence, a steadfast, powerful, kindly heart, capable of the utmost exaltation and exertion, and a patient adroitness in action which in all cases insured success."

7. The one-sided man who has excelled only in one particular quality does not win the same complete admiration from men of common-sense. No ; these words will not be said of a man who, though highly cultured and sagacious beyond measure, was a slave to selfishness, whose love and sympathy were not affected by the sufferings of his fellow-men. Acquaintances and neighbours will never say these words of a man who, though he had the heart of an angel and the greatest capacity for self-sacrifice on behalf of the sufferings of his fellow-men, nevertheless showed want of tact in the way he offered his help. Just as little will you hear it said of a man who, in the exercise of his vocation, was a model of skill, of trustworthiness, and diligence, but who failed to attend faithfully and diligently to the other calls of life, or who, being of a grasping, unfriendly, and selfish nature, only laid up treasures to himself.

8. Unspoiled human nature will instinctively apply these words only to the man in whom insight, tactful efficiency, and purity of motive, are united ; to the man

who has acquired all the principles and all the powers which are characteristically human, who practises them consistently in all the relations of his life.

What, then, of the man whose character does not exhibit this harmonious blend, but yet stands out pre-eminent among his neighbours in some particular capacity for good, and leads a meritorious but a one-sided life? Of him men will say : " He had a clever head," " He had a kind heart," " He was distinguished in his calling "; but they will not say : " All men should be as he was."

9. If you actually come across a case of the kind, do not content yourself with the knowledge of what the man was like. Go deeper into the matter. How did he become what he was ? The old man who spent his youth with him will, in a hundred cases to one, answer : " Father and mother, domestic surroundings and circumstances, awakened and fostered in him in various ways his capacities for, and inclinations towards, the good which was so marked in him. His social circle and his fatherland offered a wider sphere for putting this good into practice. At the same time, a pious belief in God lifted him out of himself, above his domestic circumstances, above the world and its selfishness, and made him capable of the sacrifice for the sake of truth and justice which won all men's hearts."

10. If you had heard him speak ! If he could rise from his grave, and if, in the humility which was the prime force of his life, you could hear him thank God for His guidance, as he thanked Him in his life, he would tell you that the characteristic feature of his education was that it did not aim solely or predominantly at producing intellectual attainments, or at establishing moral qualities, or at preparing for his future calling, but that it was carefully and consistently conducted with respect to all these. He would tell you the circumstances which roused his heart to nobler efforts and lightened the work of his mind and his hand in the struggle towards life's final goal. He will tell you how his efforts reacted upon him through the all-round care which had been spent upon his educa-

tion ; how his activity and effort were reflected in this harmony ; how in this way they had become a source of blessing to him, and were constantly prompting him to thankfulness and love towards God and man ; how this thankfulness and love continually increased the happiness of his life, and made it daily easier for him to do his duty, and by doing his duty to become—what he ought.

FOURTH LETTER

WHAT IS TO BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED

1. FRIEND, the judgment of sound common-sense uttered at the graveside of the man of high character is based on the supreme consciousness that man is to be regarded in his independent entirety, and only in so far as he maintains a right standard all round is his worth unassailable. The feelings which prompt an upright man to bear such testimony to one who has just completed a noble life are expressed more philosophically as follows : " Unless education is to make a man worse than he would have been without it, it must regard and treat him as a responsible person, and train him so that all the essential elements and forces of his nature are harmoniously called into activity, and made simultaneously efficient for everything that he is and does."

2. Every philosophical investigator of human nature is ultimately compelled to admit that the sole aim of education is the harmonious development of the faculties and dispositions which, under God's grace, make up personality. Such an investigator would realize that a man is not what he ought to be until those to whom he owes his life, and those who in their turn owe him their life, testify of him, as also do those who are bound to him by less intimate ties—his neighbours, his fellow-citizens, especially the destitute and oppressed among them—that "He was a man whose intelligence, good-will, and professional skill, could always be relied on. His judgment

showed sound discernment; his counsels, his promises, and his help, revealed a strong character capable of the utmost exertion and unwavering perseverance. Whenever his sympathy was gained, he showed an incorruptible sense of proportion, unfailing charity, and a lofty mind that shrank from no reasonable sacrifice. A disciplined intelligence, lofty ideals, and trained capacity for work, distinguished everything he did. The result was always satisfactory both to himself and to all concerned. He was therefore recognized as an example for all. As such he was appreciated and beloved."

3. The man, however, be he a philosopher or an ordinary individual, who looks upon conduct as the fruit ripening upon the tree, whose aim it is to bring the inner life of his child to perfection; the man who desires to make of his child that which by the provisions of Nature it can and ought to become, must first of all ask himself: "What is there firstly in the child himself, and secondly in the environment and conditions which are forced upon him, which Nature herself employs in the education of mankind, from which we may learn the principles of education?"

4. The answer to the second question depends on the answer to the first. Looking at them both for the moment, it is clear that the native dispositions to feeling, thinking, and doing, and the stimulus thereto which comes from without, are all that Nature needs, to form a human being. Here, too, she indicates the fundamental principles which should guide our efforts to educate.

5. All that men have done, all progress in civilization, is an outcome of feeling, of action, and of the stimuli to both, and the life of man and of the race in general is nothing more than a perpetual manifestation of these factors and of their mutual interaction. From further consideration of these factors it is clear that whatever is good, whatever is holy and ennobling, whatever tends to promote harmonious perfection in man, springs from a central force which regulates, guides, inspires, and sets

limits to, these things in accordance with a lofty ideal of man's inner sanctity.

6. Amongst human emotions, it is the feeling of love in the child which clearly expresses this ideal. Love therefore is the central force to which all other emotions must be in due subordination if harmony with the ideal is to be preserved. Again, in the same way, intellectual activity, inasmuch as it springs up side by side with love, is the central force which clearly expresses the ideal in human action. All man's other activities must be guided and inspired by it if we would achieve complete and harmonious development of our native dispositions, and thus unquestionably ennable the whole nature. This love, then, and this intellectual activity in the child constitute the common, positive, and unalterable starting-point from which the development of all natural aptitudes must begin.

7. It is not possible to think of making a human child what he ought to be by any other means than solicitude for the development in him of love and of all-round intellectual activity, finally bringing the two into harmony.

Man, as a being capable of raising himself, whose duty it is to raise himself above the charms of the sensuous life, finds no other means of accomplishing his destiny than this union of love and action.

He is constitutionally perfectly adapted to the achievement of his lofty destiny and to the performance of his duty, because his manhood disposes him towards these high aims, coming as they do from love, based as they are on activity, and allied as they are with freedom.

FIFTH LETTER

EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF FAMILY LIFE

1. CORRESPONDING to this inner disposition to love and to activity, we find in the child's environment a Divine organization of stimuli and forces which animate his

inborn capacity for self-development through love and activity.

2. And just as everything which is holy and elevating in our emotions and in our acts springs from love and from the higher activity of our spiritual nature, so everything that is holy, inspiring, and helpful, in environment and circumstance is to be found in the child's parents and his relations to them. This central force is, however, actively connected with the wider environment of the child, making his influence nobler and higher than it could have been otherwise.

Everything which tends to make the body and the soul of the child thrive has its outer source in the care of the parents. Its inner source is in the child himself, the latter being inseparable from, and dependent, on the former.

3. Those, therefore, who undertake to replace the possible lack of parents must do so in the parental spirit, and try to resemble what they really are not.

If the child does not enjoy parental care, the conception of parenthood must still find a place in his education; and if we are right in regarding it as the chief factor in the elevation of mankind, it must be introduced into the educational system by the help of the Church or the State. Otherwise, in spite of schools, in spite of all the help in the matter of food and clothes, the orphan still lacks the fundamental "outer" source of true education.

4. But if the child enjoys all that parenthood implies, even at the hands of strangers, he receives an impression of love, and he loves in return. He is grateful and trustful, and the higher elements of his nature are stimulated into activity. It is therefore possible to replace the loss of actual parents—at least, to a certain extent.

It is the sacred side of parental solicitude that makes environmental influences themselves of spiritual value, contributing thereby to the higher intellectual and emotional life.

5. Every piece of bread which the child eats has, if his mother gives it to him, quite a different effect upon him than it would have had if he had found it in the street or

received it from a stranger. The stocking which his mother knits before his eyes has also a deeper significance in his education than one which he buys at the shop or puts on without knowing where it came from. The pleasures which come from maternal love give the sense of an imperishable, higher, inner life. The stimulus arouses the whole being of the child to reciprocal love, to thankfulness, trust, and to all the inner and outer activity connected with those feelings.

6. Family life must therefore be regarded as the sole external situation that God has provided for the education of man.

In the actions and reactions of family life man's native dispositions are developed.

The bond of family life is a bond of love. It is the means given by God for awakening the capacity for love in the individual. In its purest form it is the most sublime factor imaginable in the education of our race.

7. Where love and the capacity for love are present in the domestic circle, one might say beforehand that no form of education can fail to succeed. The child must become good. One might well-nigh affirm that, whenever a child does not seem to be kind, vigorous, and active, it is because his capacity for love has not found that succour and guidance at home which it should.

8. A child who is cared for daily and hourly with all the charm that love brings lives in the midst of increasing promptings to affection. But whilst he is being thus affectionately guided he grows more independent and more able to take care of himself, and at the same time he begins spontaneously to minister to the needs of his parents. Thus the love which has been awakened in him excites serviceable activity. His own love finds expression in every circumstance. Work and love, obedience and effort, thankfulness and industry, all blend together in family life, and by their mutual interaction attain sincerity and vigour.

He who shuns no effort for the object of his affection, through the inner and outer activity which he and his

love invoke, establishes an intellectual vigour which is in harmony with it. Love helps us to put mind and heart into all that we do, and in this way to achieve and acquire those things which insight and love suggest as worthy objects of our effort.

9. The success of such an education is based entirely upon the assumption that the child's parents exist, and that they impersonate the sacredness of love and the higher human activity which springs from it. It presupposes a father and mother who are able to distinguish clearly their position towards the child from their position towards the rest of the world, and to raise the former to a position above everything else. It presupposes parents to whom the world is nothing in comparison with their child. It presupposes men—be they kings or cottagers—who set at naught all the claims of the world if they stand in the way of the rightful claims of their child—men who realize fully the truth of the sublime words: "If I could gain the whole world at the expense of my child, what compensation would that be?"

10. It presupposes parents who will so far control their child's surroundings that all improper influences are excluded, and who, on the other hand, will seek out and make full use of all the stimuli to love and activity which the particular conditions offer, whatever trouble, patience, and self-sacrifice, this may involve.

11. We need parents who have the will and the capacity to be to their children what they ought to be. It is of no avail to be solicitous about the improvement of our race if we do not seek the first principles here. It is only here that we shall find them.

12. The book of the depths of human nature is only revealed on their child's behalf to those who enjoy the parental feelings in their fullest purity.

The sacred expression of the purer and nobler emotions and capacities imprinted in that book by the flaming pencil of the Creator, is the fixed, unchangeable expression of the emotions, which are peculiar to parenthood and its circumstances, and of the capacities which are awakened

and formed by parenthood and its relationships. It is the life and soul of parenthood to see the delight which shines in the eye of children when their hearts overflow with love. It is the desire and delight of their life, and the source of a deep satisfaction, to see the peaceful expression of the child lying in their arms, filled with a confidence the meaning of which he does not yet understand. They are delighted when they recognize gratitude and dumb dependence in the eyes of the child, and when he shows in a thousand ways that nobody and nothing in the world can give him the pleasure which father and mother awaken.

13. Their most sacred feelings are touched when they see their innocent child doing gladly and willingly, as if he could not help it, just what they would wish him to do, and in the same way avoiding what they would wish him to avoid.

How deeply they are stirred when they see signs of the Divine in their child—his delight in love, his blissful thankfulness, his peaceful confidence, the innocence and purity of his mind as it has developed in obedient dependence! The life and welfare of the child viewed in this spiritual way is more to them than their own bodies. Inspired with such feelings, parents feel an irresistible impulse always to be all to their child that they should be, and resolutely to do everything necessary to preserve in its purity the Divine element in their child, and to make him grow and prosper in the fullest sense.

14. The Divine element in the child springs from the depths of his being. It is straightway surrounded by the impurities of the world. Like the most delicate plant in the world, it requires warmth, nourishment, protective and indulgent patience, all of which it finds in the protection and love of parents. Under such influences the innocent child grows and matures to the full expression of love and power, and stands before his parents as the loving and active reflection of themselves; then, when your child feels, wishes, and acts as you, the child of God, feel, wish, and act, father and mother, how great is then your power!

15. It is a Divine power to be able to develop in your child everything which is noble and good, and to bring him to maturity by the sacred virtues of patience and care. To guide wisely and to keep within limits our sensory nature, which, although an essential element in our development, may easily become overpowerful and destructive, also requires the best that is in us. With such power you may achieve the highest object of an ideal education; you will be able to maintain your child's innocence without losing his love or undermining his childlike frankness. The more firmly your love resists his tendency to error and corruption, the more will you win what is most sacred in his confidence, and knit his heart more closely to yourself.

By your action, when the struggle of his sensuous nature with his better self began, you have already awakened in him a sense that your firmness and your tenderness have one and the same aim, and he himself is roused to resist and to unite his powers with yours for his own improvement.

16. An education based upon an ideal family life, upon the power of the father and mother, steadily pursuing its beautiful course, without swerving to the right or to the left, victoriously overcoming every obstacle in the narrow but only way which leads their child to the higher life—I find myself in a world where such parents are hardly to be found.

17. The world, abandoned as it is to sensual and selfish living, lays hold of men with oppressive power, and wages constant war against their higher nature and against a life of truth and love. Fathers and mothers are also of this world. There are in them, in the limitations and the luxuries of their circumstances, in the formal insincerities of civic life and in the false refinement which threaten more and more the real ennoblement of human nature—there are in all these things so many forces that confuse the mind, destroy the affections, stifle energy, and desecrate emotion, so many things which are in direct opposition to the higher nature upon which the

true education of the child depends, that one must not be surprised when men go astray in this matter. Indeed, one should rather wonder that the race has not quite gone under, but has continued to strive after inner improvement, and still recognizes love and activity in love as the only means of its advancement.

18. This striving and this recognition of the only true basis of the education of our race cannot be lost. Nature herself would first have to be destroyed. The best men, whether they occupy thrones or live in cottages, will always, and under all circumstances, recognize their own parental feelings as their noblest and greatest. It is with such feelings that whatever is good in education will always be associated, however the corruption of the world may limit or degrade it. Such corruption, of course, would prevent the general enjoyment of this blessing, and would limit, confuse, and misdirect individual efforts to attain it in the home life.

SIXTH LETTER

EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF OTHER SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

1. Next to the parents and the relations which exist between them and the child, his relations with other human beings constitute the most important and admirable factors which have been given for the development of his affections and his activity.

His relations with men are far-reaching and many-sided from the cradle upwards, and the points of contact increase daily. He is at once the child of his parents, and brother to his brothers and sisters. He is related to those who are related to him; he is their neighbours' child to those who are neighbours of his parents; he is a member of the town or village community in which his parents live.

2. The child, however, is not conscious of these relations until long after they have begun to influence him. These relations impress him differently at different stages of his development. At first he is only conscious of those persons around him who satisfy his wants. This is a law of Nature. The needs of the infant and the nature of his surroundings render this point of view imperative. His helplessness demands assistance from every side. Someone must come and give it to him. Father and mother, and whoever else goes to his cradle, only go to minister to him. Whoever goes near him occupies himself with him, waits upon him, helps and amuses him.

Thus, at this period the child learns to recognize those about him as people to gladden, help and wait upon him. He knows no other connection with the human race but this.

3. However, this limited childish view cannot last. The causes themselves are transitory, and he must learn to know men and the relations in which he stands to them from other points of view. He must consider them seriously ; he must learn to know what he is to hope, expect, and fear, at their hands.

Nature is never one-sided ; she never places restrictions in the way of truth. She quietens the helpless child like a good mother by his first notion of his relations to others ; then she works like a wise father to fashion and strengthen him, by broadening this idea that he may make good use of it. Gradually the child learns to distinguish men apart from the relations which characterized them in his infantile helplessness.

4. If, so far, he has only recognized James and John as persons who waited upon him, helped him, and played with him, he now gradually begins to distinguish James as his father's brother and John as the latter's servant. He begins to distinguish between the old lady whom mother and father honour as grandmother, and the old neighbour who comes to them for help and comfort. He begins to distinguish between the men whom his parents greet with smiles, and people at the sight of whom they frown and step aside. The existence and actions of men

thus appear to him more and more to disassociate themselves from the attention and services which were showered upon him from every side. He sees now that even his mother is not in the world solely for his sake, and that she is often prevented from attending to him. The more he sees people, the more he notices that their relations to him are unfamiliar, and the more he sees them in such relations, the more unfamiliar do they themselves appear. The circle of those who are not strange to him becomes daily smaller in proportion to those who are. As in the beginning he saw everybody around him occupied in helping and amusing him, he now sees all human beings much oftener occupied with other things. He sees men who have no desire to pay any attention to him, and others who from their own infirmities cannot attend to him—who, on the contrary, accept help and offers of assistance from him when he can give it to them ; in short, he soon realizes what a scramble life really is.

He himself now gradually ceases to require the attention without which he formerly could not exist, much less be happy. What formerly had to be brought to him he can now get for himself. He likes being able to help himself. He sees everybody doing their utmost to help themselves. His newly-awakened understanding forcibly incites him to self-help. As his power grows, his first idea of men's relations to him die away. At the same time he receives powerful and appropriate stimuli towards affection and activity in love, which gave him so much pleasure in, the innocence of his early years.

5. His parents need no longer smile upon him or carry him about in order to kindle in his eyes and on his cheeks the expression of love. It lights up his face when he takes his younger sister in his arms and smiles at her as his mother used to smile at him. The child to whom formerly his parents were everything is now becoming a child who is something to his parents, and who daily becomes more to them as he renders affectionate service.

As he finds ever-widening scope for his affectionate activity, self-reliance gradually matures. He becomes

consciously independent of father and mother in his inner and outer life. His principles grow clearer, and his sphere of action is constantly growing larger.

6. When he has realized the charm of such power and of such affection, it grows in two ways: Firstly, through his native human sympathies, and, secondly, through the outward relations of civic life. By these means he rises from the innocent irresponsibilities of infancy to the highest and most complex position which the turmoil of life can offer. In his extended responsibilities he is actuated by the same love which in his infancy he manifested in the narrower sphere of domestic life. The purity of the powers which were developed by his early training leads him to assume the character of brother or sister in the larger family whose father is God, with the same loftiness of mind and the same humanity he showed as the child at home.

7. The one desire of his heart and mind is to share in everything that is good and noble in this great family of God. This is his one aim and his one joy. His early home training has fitted him for the conception of the Fatherhood of God. His idea of human parenthood is also widened. Now, as the brother of all men and as father of the poor, his new position constantly renews his affections and increases his power of action. It is a new aid to his own further development.

SEVENTH LETTER

EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF INTERCOURSE WITH NATURE

1. NEXT must be added the whole realm of Nature, everything animate and inanimate, everything which appeals to the child's senses, as the third great factor in the process we are describing.

2. Just as the human race at first appears to the child to exist for the sole purpose of serving and helping him,

so everything else in his environment at first only affects him in *so far* as it bears upon the satisfaction of his wants. Gradually he rises from this limited initial point of view to one which is independent of his needs and his desires. All the objects in the world must appear to him in a light which is in agreement with their own nature and with their conduct under other and unfamiliar conditions. Bread as stilling his hunger, water as quenching his thirst, the pear, the grape, the cherry, as merely pleasing his palate—all have a great interest for the child before it occurs to him that bread must be prepared from vegetable products, that water belongs to the fluids of the earth, and pears, cherries, and grapes, are really the seed-vessels of trees and shrubs. His good mother wraps him up in linen before she shows him the growing hemp and flax ; his shoes are familiar to him before he knows that they come from the skin of an animal. He sleeps under the woollen coverlet before he realizes that it is made of wool which is shorn from the back of the sheep.

3. This state, however, like the former, does not and cannot last long. As it was with men, so other objects soon have a significance beyond that of merely satisfying his wants and furnishing enjoyment.

He now sees wool, having nothing to do with his coverlet, on the back of the sheep ; he sees flax, corn, and leather, which have no connection with the shirt he wears, the bread he eats, or the shoe in which he walks, or even with his mother who brought these things to his notice. In this way, the world discloses ever-broadening phases. All objects show themselves more in their true nature and in less familiar aspects.

4. He now drops from his mother's arms, in which his helplessness had found the necessary protection, into the unfathomable sea of the world, where his mother has no control. Here he is affected by a thousand new objects, in which his interest ever grows. The sheep, the cock, the dove, and every living object, now gladden the child. His confidence in the life that surrounds him increases, he is happy in this growing confidence, and when he

places some beloved and trusted pet upon his mother's lap he is filled with joy. He puts a titbit from his supper for the dove to peck at, he searches in the meadow for weeds and leaves which the sheep likes to eat. The loving-hearted boy has hardly outgrown his infancy when his greatest delight is to go with father and the stable-boy to the stable or to the meadow, to the cows or to the horses. When the fields are being ploughed or the cattle watered and fed, the child always wants to be there, and would like to help.

5. But the kindly mystery that shrouds these first impressions, and by reason of which the child pictures the world as full of happy beings, gradually melts away. The child sees that the sheep cowers and trembles when the warm wool is shorn from his back, that the ox is at the plough under compulsion. It exerts itself because his father holds it with a firm hand ; his strength compels the ox to do what he wants. He sees his mother take away the calf from the cow that she may have more milk for her household.

He sees the beautiful rose carrying thorns, he sees the waste ground covered with thistles and useless growth, he sees his father coming home from the field tired and bathed in perspiration, he sees that the field does not yield what is wanted without exhausting effort.

6. Experience teaches him still more. She shows him creatures who, instead of being a source of joy to their fellows, threaten them with death and destruction, and occasion great misery. He sees his beloved pigeon seized by a hawk and carried away to die ; he sees the cruel cat playing with the mouse in its death-agony ; he sees the pigeon-cote broken into by martens, and the poultry-shed by foxes ; he sees his faithful and apparently innocent dog chasing the poor hare and the graceful roe to its death ; he sees him driving the sheep and the calf to the slaughter-house, and terrifying them by his bark and his bite ; he sees the dog tracking out the poor bird in its nest, and driving it away from its brood for the gun and the snare of the hunter.

7. This experience, however, does not kill the affection of the child who has enjoyed maternal love and human sympathy. On the contrary, the cruel power which the stronger creature exercises over the weaker always awakens in him an unspoken but strong feeling that man must not be like these animals. He must not take advantage of the weakness of his fellow-men ; he must not behave with them as the sparrow-hawk behaves with the dove, the cat with the mouse, the dog with the hare, the sheep, and the bird. The affectionate child cries when he sees his pet dove or his pet lamb dead before his eyes : " Oh, my dove ! " " Oh, my little lamb ! " With tears in his eyes he clasps his father's hand, and his father takes measures to protect the dovecote against the hawk and the poultry-shed against the fox.

8. Such a child, in whose heart noble human feelings have been deeply planted by his parents, is of himself inclined to be good and gentle, and every impression of Nature, the sight of the great works of God, the sky, and the earth, tends to make him still more gentle. He cannot look upon the splendour of the setting and the rising sun, or that of the moon and the stars, without joy. The flowers and the tree laden with fruit delight him. The better a man is, the more softening and ennobling the influences of mother-love and human kindness which he has enjoyed, so much the more is his love and activity awakened by all the beauties and blessings of Nature.

9. But inanimate Nature does not always appear to men in beautiful, beneficent form. The river which waters his meadows overflows its banks at times ; it destroys his fields, washes away the cottages on its banks, and carries men and cattle to untimely ends. The fire, without which you could not cook, and which makes your sitting-room comfortable when the frost is on the ground —this beneficent fire ravages towns and villages. The water from heaven, without which neither grass nor corn, vines nor wood, could grow, sometimes falls in heavy hail-storms on the growing corn, destroys all hopes of harvest, and deprives the unfortunate family for a whole year of

the small provision for which the father had toiled with the sweat of his brow.

10. But even when Nature acts thus (and even more than when she is kinder), she awakens the child's disposition to love and action, if he has enjoyed the gentle and ennobling influence of a mother's care and the love of other children. Poverty loosens the tears of love. Even he who is usually apathetic is driven to love by poverty.

The rich child weeps when the poor about him are in want, even if his father is a hard man or if he himself is naturally selfish. He hurries away from the sight of misery to ask his mother for clothes for the naked and food for the hungry. Boys and young men, and even the tottering old man, hasten to help their neighbour when his house is burning ; and if they cannot save it, they bring gifts to help the sufferer to build another house.

But the greater the privation, the more brightly does the Divine flame burn in the bosom of the man who has been nurtured in love, and at such moments he is roused to mighty effort on his own behalf.

The man whose field has been destroyed by the floods works like a slave with his wife and children to make good the loss, and the poor widow who has been deprived of her treasured provision for a year by a dreadful storm wears herself out with her spinning so that her babe may not starve, and that the rest of her children may be fed and clothed as they would have been if the terrible hail had not destroyed her hard-won store.

Thus we see that inanimate Nature, not only in its beautiful and beneficent aspects, but even as a force of destruction, awakens love, and the activity engendered by love, in the hearts of those who were nurtured by motherly care and human sympathy, and are therefore receptive to the emotions of love.

11. It would take too long to follow up the subject of the impression made upon the child by its environment. I will therefore now retrace my steps, and, in order to throw more light upon what has been said, by describing the opposite picture, will turn my attention to the con-

sequences which ensue in those cases when the child has not received the first and most natural boon which is the true source of a happy and contented life.

12. Consider the child who lacks motherly care and human kindness, whose parents fail in their most sacred duty. Under the malign influence of the world, the mother neglects her child that she may be a popular figure and shine in fashionable circles in large towns or among the foolish women of some provincial or country town. The country's misfortune and the poverty of thousands are the opportunity of the usurer. Even the father drags away the mother from the infant that he may lose none of the intoxicating pleasures of the world ; and when he has effectually choked up the only true source of welfare for his babe, he runs round distractedly to find outside and inefficient sources of education. He would replace father and mother by teachers, whose chief fault is that they have not the sacred feelings of parenthood, nor have they the trained power of parents. Indeed, this power is hardly to be found ; its purity in a stranger is the rarest thing in the world. And failing this, if parents engage those who act only as substitutes for the real parents, then there is no longer any hope of the child being brought up in the atmosphere of love and in its resultant activity. The child is surrounded by unreality and vanity from his cradle upwards.

Even if the nurse does not pinch him in her rage, she stands by the window taking the air, heedless of the cries of her charge, chafing under the burden laid upon her. So the tutor, even if he is a conscientious man, has certainly not sufficient time in a house where he was only engaged so that everyone excepting himself might leave the children and live a worldly life.

13. The consequences of such conditions upon the training of the child are disastrous. Since the original foundations of his culture are wanting in his whole environment, the child finds no thread by which he can bring his higher and nobler feelings into his barren life. It is his parents' fault that he develops a loveless nature. His lovelessness

deepens every day, and he begins to regard his fellow-creatures as a source of alarm and annoyance. Their insincerity, their underhand dealing, their trumpery display, their hypocrisy, make him hard and selfish. He has neither nobility nor gentleness in him. If his dove is seized by the hawk, and his lamb torn to pieces by the wolf, he does not take his father's hand and ask him to repair the dovecote and the poultry-shed, so that similar misfortunes may not happen again to their occupants. On the contrary, he begins to feel pleasure at the agony and suffering of his fellow-beings, and his delight in watching the dog, the fox, the hawk, and the marten, pursuing their prey, makes him indifferent to human life. He loses all sympathy for the weak struggling against the strong ; he begins to feel it is inevitable that the weak should be humbled and downtrodden.

With time these dark thoughts lead to a complete hardening of heart. If the poor man dies in the struggle, what cares the loveless man ? Why is the poor man such a worm ? Why can he offer no resistance to the man who walks over him ? And how can the hawk help his palate thirsting for blood ?

14. The whole world appears in a brutish guise to the child whose love has not been awakened by his parents. Such a child can never really love, though he may counterfeit it.

But it is the essence of love that is human ; only those who are not filled with its power venture to counterfeit it. This counterfeit leads to empty caresses. Wherever lovelessness has the semblance of Shame, she wraps herself in the mantle of this vanity. It is her peculiar garment. She seldom dares to appear in her own nakedness.

From the miserable woman, who closes the door upon her neighbours and repels the unhappy orphan children in her immediate environment, but showers her affections upon some pet, to the princess who at supper persuades her lord and master to offer his kingdom to her favourite, as the other woman would give her lapdog a titbit, the types of loveless caresses are many and diverse.

Among such people noble and worthy men are despised ; they are ridiculed by their inferiors. Wherever favourites creep in, love disappears. True love avoids the falseness of favourites, and hates their deception.

15. Neither animate nor inanimate Nature, neither heaven nor earth, will have an ennobling and refining influence on the child of the mother who, for the sake of her finery, forgets everything else, including her own child.

Heaven and earth awaken no more love in him than they do in his mother, who values that portion of the earth which she owns, not for the sake of the good it might do to others, but for the influence it actually has on the empty vanities of her life. To such people every aspect of Nature is distorted and corrupt.

16. If the pure and loving wife values the lamb that trustingly lays its head next to her child's on her lap, because she thinks of the wool with which by her industry she will clothe her child ; if she values her cow because she can nourish her dear ones every day with its milk ; if her husband cultivates the field in the sweat of his brow in order to provide the necessities of life for himself and his family, and with his produce help those who have neither cow nor sheep nor field ; if his strength is doubled by love, and he surpasses himself in the cultivation of the soil—none of these things bring satisfaction to the man and woman of the world. The glory of the field and of the vine awakens no joy in their hearts because the harvest will bring bread to the hungry, and refreshment to the weary, the child-bearing, and the dying. They rejoice only because the good harvest means that they may revel and glitter in the pomp of its produce.

17. The man is ever in danger of falling into this state who has not learned the promptings of love. His fellow-men will not teach him. Animate Nature is dead to him, and inanimate Nature has no power over him. God's world must be unsatisfying to such a man. He would like to have a world specially fitted up for himself and the companion of his fortunes, that they might juggle and struggle through life without let or hindrance.

But our world is not like that. By the will of God, and in conformity with the characteristic of human nature, its well-being depends on other foundations than those which such a corrupt heart can grasp, suspect, or even believe. For every prosperous man there are a thousand unfortunate. It follows that they must have a thousand claims upon the one. It is true the selfish heart is always too small for the claims of the thousand, however just these claims may be. What a miserable world it is to the selfish man ! The sight of the most sublime and magnificent objects of Nature do not touch him. If the sun could rise for him alone, and if he could ride in its chariot over the earth, destroying with the flames from its wheels all who would not worship him, then he would love the sun. He would love the moon and the stars if he could shut them up in his tent, and, alone with them, how glorious his slumbers would be !

EIGHTH LETTER

1. ALTHOUGH, speaking generally, men enjoy in more or less degree the blessings of maternal care, of human sympathy, and of intercourse with Nature, yet wrinkled foreheads and burdensome lives abound.

2. This is due to two causes : Children are too much stimulated by sensory pleasures, and their parents and friends are occupied more with those things than with deeds of love. So even the external aspects of Nature have an unhappy influence upon them.

3. One might almost say that whoever would train a child in love must take him from his parents and his customary surroundings, and lead him to the innermost sanctuary of his being, there to find a genuine foundation for future love and power.

4. All good parents feel their own inadequacy and the inadequacy of their circumstances for a satisfactory education of their child. They feel their own inferiority in everything which furthers the sure realization of their

aims. They all feel that their tendencies and weaknesses are a hindrance to its realization. They feel the evil influences of the environment which threaten to overpower the work of love.

This is necessarily so. No mother who sincerely thinks of her child can fail to realize that the higher nature is endangered by man's corruption, and that all the stimuli of natural beauty can, for like reasons, have no formative effect. The better the mother and the wiser the father, the more are they grieved and depressed at this corruption, and the more are they dissatisfied with their own power and their own effort against it. The better and wiser they are, the more are they compelled to appeal for their child's sake to the feeling of a higher love and a higher power than their own.

5. The good which is in them raises them above the limits of all human good. Only in God do they find satisfaction for all the good and all the power which they seek for their child.

BELIEF IN GOD IS ESSENTIAL.

6. The reality of their own love and their own power leads them to believe in God, and belief in God makes in its turn that love and that power purer and stronger. The noblest mother believes in God with a purer and stronger faith through her child. She sees that this faith makes her more to him than otherwise she could be. Her efforts for her child increase as she separates herself from the world, and submits the success of her efforts to her God and Father, as she resigns herself to Him and directs her child above all things to this belief in God. This belief is the bond of love and power which she seeks for her child, and by this belief her influence on the welfare of her child is increased. As her love towards God is reflected in her child, and develops into assurance of His love and His power as he sees it in her, so his receptiveness for all good grows correspondingly.

7. The purer the glances which the mother casts round

the world, the more incontrovertibly will she realize how thousands of men are cared for who are too weak to look after themselves. The purer her glance is, the more will she feel the presence and reality of the everlasting hand which guides her.

Each day man's destiny appears to her to depend more upon God, just as the fate of the child depends upon its mother.

8. The nobler she is, the more irresistibly is she impelled to place the welfare of the child in higher hands than her own ; the nobler she is, the more irresistibly is she impelled to desire for her child a guide, a Father who can never err or fail him in his need, whom the grave cannot snatch from him and the world cannot corrupt. She finds, in this devotion to God, the necessary supplement to the means at her own disposal and to those of the world for the child's guidance as planned by her unselfish mother-love.

9. By her faith in God these means themselves become holy, by this faith she finds herself more and more willing to utilize them more forcibly for her child, she finds in it a saving counter-weight to the weakness of her nature, and by it the world, with all its deception and misery, becomes a higher world in which, as she becomes freer, more grateful, and more loving, she receives more power to develop everything that is noble and good in the child.

And the child who by his mother's side unfolds his tendencies, his impressions and powers ; the child whom she sees praying to a Heavenly Father, who never deserts those who cling to Him and seek His love ; the child who sees his mother for the sake of her Heavenly Father loving and serving her fellow-men, sacrificing herself for them, and seeking and finding her only happiness in this patience, in this love, and in this self-sacrifice—such a child must fall on his knees and pray at his mother's side.

10. The innocence of his nature makes his attitude towards his Heavenly Father resemble that of his mother.

This first recognition of a supernatural union of human

nature with that of a loving, helping Divine Being must elevate all the child's feelings. He will love his father and mother more, he will be more grateful to them and have a firmer trust in them, if he believes in a God who is the Father of his father and of all other fathers, as well as of all other children.

He will of necessity love more purely every creature of his own species in whom he recognizes a child of his God and Father; he will offer him his hand with nobler feelings and with higher motives.

All Nature will be holier to him than before, because it reveals the love and power of his God and Father.

He will find his God and Father in the shining sun, in the dripping cloud, in the growing corn, in the depth of the valley and in the height of the mountains; he will prize more highly and employ more wisely the sun and the rain, and the fruits of the valley and of the mountains, than if he did not know God.

Like his mother, he will raise himself to such a height that even misfortune and suffering do not awaken resentment in his nature, but on the contrary he will profit by them, and by means of them his love, his trust, and his gratitude will be refined and upheld.

APPENDIX III.

OF SCHOOLMASTERS.

If we examine the subject of national education, and consider first of all the institutions which are actually in existence for the education of the poor, such as schools, orphan asylums, industrial schools, etc., the ordinary schools are obviously the first, the most general, and the most far-reaching in their influence. Unquestionably, they may determine the failure or the success of a man's future life.

If the schoolmaster is a man with the spirit of love, of wisdom, of purity; a man who is fitted for his calling,

and who enjoys the confidence of young and old ; a man who esteems love, order, and self-control, as higher and more desirable than actual knowledge and learning ; a man who, with penetrating foresight, perceives what sort of man or woman the child is likely to develop into, and guides his school-days with that end in view, he will become in the true sense of the word a father to the village, he will in this way take the place of the best father and the best mother, taking up the education of the child when the parents can do no more. Such a man can and will improve the love of a whole village, and train the powers and capacities, the mode of thought and behaviour, of the youth in such a way as to maintain and strengthen the holiest and best elements in the life and thought of their forefathers conformable to the requirements of our times, thereby establishing the welfare of the village for years to come.

If, on the other hand, the schoolmaster is a vain, selfish, bumptious pedant and a dreamy bookworm, a presumptuous expounder of mysteries too deep to be explained, a man ill-educated for his profession, who could earn his bread in no other way but by vain mouthings, and who prides himself upon the fact, despising the peasant at the plough, although he is more exacting in the matter of food, drink, and leisure, than the richest peasant, he is an agent of evil rather than of good in the village, an agent of grievous, far-reaching evil. Even if the children learn to speak and read and write in a satisfactory manner, and give the latest answers to a thousand questions, the schoolmaster's influence is still undoubtedly injurious. He is incapable of taking the father's place and of linking his own teaching to the early training of the good home, but rather undermines and obscures by his life and action all the good habits and principles which the child has already acquired, and by his insincerity destroys the most sacred ties of Nature.

The parents may be modest, skilful, and upright, but the children become thoughtless, stupid, and arrogant, like their schoolmaster. They become feeble,

miserable, covetous creatures, such as he is, and the moral tone of the village is degraded for many years by his influence. Everything bad in the village finds fertile soil in the school, and yields thirty-, sixty-, or a hundred-fold increase. Such a choice of schoolmaster brings with it all the evils of idolatry. Nature, strong and jealous as the God of Israel, visits such errors on the part of the fathers unto the third and fourth generation of their children. . . .

However much wisdom and zeal are expended upon the choice of schoolmasters, examinations, and school organization, however much the scholars are stimulated by rewards and class places towards love of their school and of learning, if there is no one who, as schoolmaster, can, as far as is possible, take the place of the parents ; if there is no opportunity for encouraging and training a young man to do this ; if there is even no one in whose opinion it would be a good thing to encourage and train a young man to do this, the ideal of a suitable training for the children of the poor is not reached. On the contrary, all their undesirable qualities are nourished and forced like plants in a hothouse, as if their future success depended upon their speedy cultivation.

One thing is missing—namely, good schoolmasters ; and where these are lacking, the whole of educational activity is dust in the eyes of a man who cannot see what he needs. Consequently, he who is anxious that the poor should have the best type of schools must first of all secure an adequate supply of men who are able and fitted to train children with insight and love in the wisdom of life, and make them vigorous and disciplined members of the station in life to which they belong.

Such men do not fall from the clouds ; they do not come like snow or rain. No calling in life can be more important, but none is more difficult. Men of great intelligence and kindness of heart are only endowed by Nature with aptitudes for teaching, and in this, as in every other calling, these special aptitudes must be stimulated, developed, trained.

At present individuals spend infinitely more time in insuring that their sons have an adequate technical or professional training than princes or nations devote to the training of men for what is undoubtedly the most important and most difficult calling. So long as this is the case, popular education is inadequately provided for, and it is difficult to imagine that their schools can ever become what they should be—namely, instruments for supplying the advantages of home training, for helping the poor in their infirmities, and for remedying their deficiencies. A state which possessed such schools would ennoble human nature in every station of life. But where is the state which has them, or is making any attempt to possess them? We cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that no state has made any provision for this pressing need. We must, however, also admit that it is a difficult matter, and the initial step is precarious.

The training of good schoolmasters presupposes the existence of men of a different type from that which our teachers are striving to make of their scholars, and this different type appears at a first glance not to exist. They are lacking, however, only because those who are looking for them have neither the intelligence nor the character which is necessary for the search. There is nothing good on earth which does not lose the appearance of value when men speak slightlyingly of it and neglect it, but, in the words of Jesus Christ, "Those who seek shall find." No man has yet sought anything lofty and holy without inspiring others with his enthusiasm, and yet you say that it is impossible to find a man whose love for his country is so great that he is willing to share the heavy burdens of the poor! Seek for him, and you will find him, but you yourself must be willing to help. Then you need have no fear that you will fail to find men in every station and condition of life who are filled with a like enthusiasm and love for human nature, men who are willing and fitted to become school-teachers of such a kind as the world has need. Inspire your country to join in the search, and teachers will not only be found, they

will be supported, esteemed, beloved, and employed. When this is done, the apparently insurmountable difficulties of national education will all be overcome.

I must add one thing. This movement must not come from schoolmaster's themselves. It must be quite independent of them, and must have its origin in the good-will of the nation itself and in the general tendency of its aspirations. If this is not so, the number of men capable of being trained as teachers may be ample, but the nation is not interested in them ; they will be misjudged and solitary. The fact that they are more noble and disinterested than those who misjudge them only makes their position more difficult. Their work becomes ineffective, and they lose courage.

Where the opposite is the case, if men of influence and worth would seek out youths to be trained as teachers, and give them their support and assistance, they would revolutionize the world. Love would smooth away difficulties, the doings of teachers would be a matter of general interest, doubts would disappear. Faith in human nature would revive. Fathers and mothers would associate themselves with the teachers, and the sacred ties of human fellowship would be more firmly knit together. Children would become the joy of their parents, and parents the friends of their children. The poor would have the Gospel preached to them as they have not had it before. God would be honoured in heaven, and there would be peace upon earth.

IV.—“ADDRESS TO MY HOUSE, 1818.”

[Pestalozzi was in the habit of addressing his school on all festival occasions. Some of these addresses have been preserved, and the one here translated is perhaps the most interesting. Its insistence upon the freedom of the human will, and the need for experimental schools and training colleges, are particularly noteworthy.]

POPULAR INDIFFERENCE TO EDUCATION.

3. I AM quite convinced that our part of the world is in such darkness concerning what has actually been accomplished in the investigation of education methods, and concerning the true cause of poverty, as neither the sunlight of truth nor the quiet moonlight of gentle love can pierce and light up. I know that what I have to say now will be variously misunderstood, but that cannot be helped, for the darkness of which I complain has become an element in which we live, move, and have our being. I only propose to speak of two things: popular education and the causes of poverty; and I say again that these times of ruinous ostentation are not propitious to the cause I stand for—the sound treatment of these two problems—although, in spite of this darkness, there are many things we see more clearly and treat with more understanding. Generally speaking, we neglect what concerns man's higher nature. So true is this, that we have no idea of the extent of our present errors. The opinions, preconceptions, desires, and customs, which are current, affect the mental attitudes of rich and poor alike. To remove

them would mean a revolution of thought. How can it be brought about? Who will speak and who will listen? Indifference is too widespread. We ourselves are affected. We have lost much of our inspiration. As for me, I am dead to my time; this world is mine 'no more. I dream dreams of education—of popular education, of education of men, of the education of the poor—which are only possible in a simpler world. Yet I give myself up to my dream; I dream with the utmost enthusiasm. The better education of which I dream reminds me of a tree planted by the riverside. What is that tree? Where has it sprung from, with its roots, trunk, branches, twigs, and fruits? You plant a tiny seed in the ground; in that seed lies the whole nature of the tree.

ANALOGY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TREE.

“God is its Father,
 God its Creator;
 Mighty is God
 In the seed of the tree.
 The hand of man
 Places it as God's seed
 In the gentle earth;
 He places it as God's seed
 In the land of God,
 In the dear land of his God.”

4. The seed is the spirit of the tree, which it produces through its own power. Watch how it unfolds out of the mother earth. Already before you can see it, before it breaks through the earth, it has struck its roots. As the inner life of the seed unfolds, its external covering disappears. The seed decays when it germinates. It disappears as it develops. Its life has passed over into the roots. It has become a root. The power of the seed has become the power of the root. We have now the root of the tree. The tree to its outermost twig on which

hangs the fruit, has sprung from its roots. Its whole being is nothing more than an unbroken extension of elements, which were already in its roots. . . .

ULTIMATE UNITY AMIDST DIVERSITY OF PARTS.

Observe all these parts of the tree. In spite of their number, there is no confusion ; each is independent and clearly marked off from the others. Each has developed after its own laws, but has never lost its connection with the tree as a whole ; it is this unity which enables the tree to fulfil its destiny. The growth of the tree is like that of man. Even before the child is born, the germs of future capacity are all there. Man's powers continue to develop through his whole life, just as is the case with the tree. His capacities are distinct from, and independent of, one another. But just as the separate parts of a tree through the unseen spirit of its organic life work together in divinely ordered unity to fulfil the common function, the production of fruit, so it is with man. His inner spirit, moved by Divine love, brings unity into his life. His varied powers work together to a common end—manhood, the inner nature of which is not dependent upon the body. Men who have sprung from God were made in God's imago to become perfect as their Father in heaven is perfect. It is the soul which is effective in this case ; the body is useless. But man's soul is not revealed in any one of his powers ; indeed, what we call "capacity" does not reveal it at all ; it is neither in his hand nor in his brain. The unifying centre of man's nature, the power that is peculiar to and characteristic of man, is his faith and his love. They bring into holy union his powers of knowing and doing, of wisdom and action ; they make him really human.

Man's capacity for faith and love is to him, from the point of view of his education, just what the roots are to the growth of the tree. By means of the root the tree draws nourishment from the earth for all its parts. Men must see that the roots of their own high nature

preserve a like power. They can see how the root makes the tree grow when the ground is soft and moist and the sun is warm, until finally the tree stands perfect in its kind, a sublime work of God, a noble example of His creative activity in the world of plants. But consider, again, the tree as a whole : it would die if the root should dry up in barren, stony ground ; and the same thing would happen if it were placed in a swamp or in an over-manured soil, its powers of absorption and assimilation being overtaxed.

5. Such are the sources and conditions of the tree's organic life and death. Now look at yourself, and how your powers have attained to life, and notice, too, what it is that brings you with all your powers to decay and death. Ask yourself wherein you are like, and wherein you are unlike, that tree and its organic nature.

THE TREE IS UNABLE TO HELP ITSELF--MAN CAN.

6. Your powers, like those of the tree, are independent of each other ; but just as the "soul" of the tree combines its various powers in the common purpose of bringing forth fruit, so is it with you. Each of your powers has its separate existence, each is controlled by its own laws, yet all are united by an inner human spirit to the attainment of the common human aim. As the organic spirit which is in the root of the tree rapidly absorbs nourishment from the mother earth for all parts of the tree, or is rapidly dried up or is poisoned at this same source, so also has the human organism in its inmost parts a root in which the spirit of its whole being dwells. Through it the forces of human life are absorbed from the body itself, and from the environment. From the same sources and through the same agency come the influences which wither and poison all that is truly human in us. But the human organism differs from inanimate objects ; it differs, too, from animals and plants ; the human organism is a sensory framework in which a Divine being lives. The true source of human life, of the good and

evil that is absorbed from his sensory self and his sensory environment, is not in any physical sense attached to his body ; it is superior to all physical bonds, it is free. It utilizes all the forces of physical growth which are in the body, as they are in a plant, with the skill of the gardener, who, when the soil about the tree is hard and dry, waters and moistens it, though, if he would, he might leave it unwatered, to its consequent destruction. Similarly, when the tree is in a swamp, the gardener drains the swamp and regulates the moisture, or leaves the tree to die, whichever he wishes. The tree is subject to the influences of inanimate Nature, against which its vital powers can offer no resistance, whereas the higher spirit which dwells in man is free to allow his sensory nature and sensory environment to bring about his ruin, or to work against and overcome them.

MAN'S WILL IS FREE.

7. Man's sensory nature, his hereditary tendencies, the appeals which his worldly environment make upon him, stand to his real nature, Divine as it is, in the same relation as the hard earth, the rocks, the stones, the burning sand, and the quagmire, stand to the roots of the tree which they dry up and poison. But the tree is at the mercy of these external influences, even though they threaten its existence, whilst the higher nature of man, which lends unity and singleness of purpose to his varied activities, is free. Through the voice of conscience all men hear God's message concerning what is good and what is evil. God is in them, and calls them through faith, love, truth, and right, to be at one with themselves, and so to be at one with God. They can hear this voice of God within them, and continue to be free. They can also shut out that voice ; they may close their ears. They can deny freedom to their own will, and become the slave of sensuous and worldly pleasures. They can cast love, truth, faith, and right, away. They can live like animals, and say to themselves and to all who approach them :

" This and this do not please me." They can live at strife with themselves and with their race, and so come to regard the things that are of Divine and human worth as of less importance than physical prowess.

8. Let men examine themselves and find out how far they are at peace with themselves and with their fellows. Let them consider how they might have been friendly to faith, to love, to truth, to light, at peace with God and at peace with man, and how far circumstances have forced them in opposition to these things. Look at the men around you, and at yourself more closely ; follow in your minds the course of man's development. He grows, he is trained and educated. Inner forces bring about his growth. His training comes from the chance circumstances that arise in dealing with things about him ; his education is dependent on the methods and purposes of his fellows. Man's physical growth is God's business ; it follows eternal law. Man's training is casual and dependent on the changing circumstances of his position. His education is moral ; it is a product of the freedom of the human will in so far as that can influence the unfolding of power and capacity.

MAN A THREEFOLD PRODUCT.

9. From the point of view of the mere growth of these powers and capacities, man is the product of the eternal laws which he embodies. From the point of view of his training he is a result of chance circumstances and relations which influence the freedom and purity of his powers. From the standpoint of his education he is a product of the influences which moral forces have upon their freedom and purity. The law which governs man's growth is in itself eternal and God-given ; the influences which train him are in themselves sensory and environmental. Educative influences are in themselves contingent and free.

10. The training and education of men must be regarded as influences contributing to the inner tendency

of our powers towards development. We can control the influence of circumstances, and bring it into line with the laws that govern the growth of human powers. Educational effort should be brought into like agreement ; both education and training can, however, be set in contradiction thereto. It is only when they agree with those laws that man is trained and educated in the proper sense of the words. When they are not so, man's nature is distorted just as plants become distorted through external forces which disturb the physical organization of their parts. When education and training are not in harmony with the laws that govern the development of human powers, and with the original purity of the human will which unites them in a common purpose, we have external forces operating against the laws of human nature as destructively as like external forces acting upon a plant or animal. In men, by God's grace, practical capacity and knowledge are independent of each other, but they are eternally united in the exercise of will, which, through the freedom which faith and love bring to it, directs the development of all our powers of knowing and doing to the complete unfolding of our inner humanity, and subordinates the bodily appetites, with God's help, to the claims of faith and love, of truth and right. But unless God is in his soul, bodily appetites come into the ascendant. They undermine our humanity and deprive us of the blessings of faith and love.

11. Man's will is free, and it is his business to seek God, or, rather, the hand of God which paternal watchfulness reveals to him. But man can reject the hand of God, and say to himself : "I will for my part follow my bodily appetites, and not live amongst men as their brother nor as the child of God." . . . But as it is true that God speaks to man through his conscience, and leaves no man ignorant, so it is also true that the circumstances of one man are much more favourable than those of another for the development of faith and love, and of the knowledge of truth and right. One finds the way thereto ready before his eyes ; the other finds the way to unbelief,

to lovelessness, and to inhumanity artfully prepared. This difference, which exists between men exists also between different times, and we must not forget that the days in which we live are made dangerous to our race by the attractiveness of the temptation which it offers. . . .

Life is less simple and straightforward than it used to be. We have lost the old spirit of sincerity, and we hardly believe that it is recoverable. We praise our fathers with our mouths, whilst we stand in our hearts far from them ; our conduct is as unlike theirs as that of the Antipodeans is unlike ours. We have transformed their knowledge of the necessary and their ignorance of the useless into wide knowledge of the useless and ignorance of the necessary. Instead of their healthy and active mother-wit, we have the verbal forms of thought without the content—verbal expressions which suck the blood from good sense, as a marten does that of a dove when it gets hold of her neck. We know our neighbours, our poor relations, our fellow-citizens, no longer. Instead of that we read the newspapers, know the family history of kings, anecdotes of the court, of the theatre, of the metropolis, and change our political and religious opinions daily as we change our clothes ; we change from unbelief to the faith of a St. Francis, and back again to unbelief, just as we change our fashions. Our fathers trained their thought powers simply and powerfully ; few of them bothered about inquiries into higher and more difficult truths. We, on the other hand, do little to become equal to such a task through the training of thought powers ; but we learn to talk a great deal of lofty metaphysical stuff ; we scan the popular newspapers for results of the deepest investigations ; everybody is talking about them. Amongst our fathers, every good man tried at least to know one thing well—namely, his calling. This was a point of honour. Now men in high position are there by right of birth ; many are ashamed of their father's calling or position ; instead of mastering that, they criticize the work of other people, and manage their own business badly. The whole spirit that made citizenship

strong has disappeared from our midst. We no longer even ask what we are, but what we have and what we know; we try to show off these things as if they were for sale....

18. All this cloud of artifice must be cleared away by educational reform, which is the same thing as looking after the poor. But what is the true type of education? It is like the art of the gardener under whose care a thousand trees blossom and grow. He contributes nothing to their actual growth; the principle of growth lies in the trees themselves. He plants and waters, but God gives the increase. It is not the gardener who opens the roots of the trees that they may draw food from the earth; it is not he who divides the pith from the wood and the wood from the bark, and thus helps forward the development of the separate parts, from the root right up to the outermost twig, and holds them together in the eternal unity of their being, thereby producing the final object of their existence—namely, the fruit. Of all this he does nothing; he only waters the dry earth that the roots may not strike it as a stone. He only drains away the standing water that the tree may not suffer. He only watches that no external force should injure the roots, the trunk, or the branches, of the tree, or disturb the order of Nature in which the several parts combine to insure the success of the tree. So with the educator: he imparts no single power to men. He gives neither life nor breath. He only watches lest any external force should injure or disturb. He takes care that development runs its course in accordance with its own laws. But he must recognize fully the peculiar constitution of man's mind, adapted as it is to unite man's various powers in the interest of his final mission. He knows that sound methods of popular education must agree with the eternal laws according to which these powers unfold, and that these methods must be sought in that which strengthens and purifies the moral and religious bonds of our powers. The moral, the intellectual, and practical powers of our nature must, as it were, spring out of themselves for themselves. Faith must have its source in faith, and not in the knowledge

of that which is believed. Thought must be produced through thought, and not through the knowledge of what is thought or of the laws of thought. Love, again, must develop from love, and not from talk about what is worthy to be loved and love itself. And, likewise, practical power must come from doing, and not from the thousand-fold talk about doing ; but human influence upon what we know and what we can do must be subordinate to the higher laws of our will. . . .

Amidst the ups and downs of my experience, I soon found that the problem of education is in essentials the same whatever the social position of the children, and that it does not consist in communicating special knowledge or special dexterities, but in developing the fundamental human powers (*which are, of course, the same for rich and poor*). Already in *Leonard and Gertrude*, I spoke of the need of more care for the education of the will—the centre point, as it were, of human capacity, and the source of his welfare. I tried to make people see that the home was the starting-point for all measures in this direction.

THE PROGRESS OF PESTALOZZI'S WORK.

In my later years, and especially here in Yverdun, my friends and I have striven to reduce the training of individual power to psychological method, for this seemed to us the pedagogical problem of primary importance, and we have given much time and energy to research in this direction. Nevertheless we recognize how much we are in arrear of the results we hoped to attain. Many others also have shared in our work . . . borrowing from it and extending it each in their own way. . . . May God's blessing rest on all those who see further in these beloved views of mine than I do myself! My honour becomes their honour, and I am grateful to them for helpful work in forwarding the cause.¹ Never-

¹ Pestalozzi is thinking especially of his former colleague Niederer, who at times "philosophized" his master's ideas beyond recognition.

theless I should like to keep as my own what really belongs to me, that its spirit may not be lost in the improving process which another may apply to it. I would have it play its part along with the God-given powers of others in working towards the great end which will survive when all that is merely human in our efforts shall have disappeared for ever. . . . Yes, in gratitude to God for His not-always-understood gifts, I will continue to stand for the independence of what is true and right in my message. In spite of the wreckage of my home, I have not been entirely unsuccessful in my weak efforts. I venture to say that before this century closes it will see our work taken up by men who will express their indebtedness to it. I believe in its lasting qualities as strongly as ever. I have ceased to trouble about hindrances and doubts. I suffered much in this way, but I have been happier latterly. I have even ceased to trouble lest I should be a grey-headed old man before I could put a practical hand to the problem of popular education. I feel now that, had the opportunity arisen, I could not expect to have influenced the course of national education, or to have helped to raise the actual conditions and way of life of the people. I had not realized the moral destruction in the midst of which the poor live as convincingly as they must be realized if the causes of poverty, which are not in the poor themselves, are to be stopped—causes which so completely overwhelm all capacity for self-help that the poor man must go under. He is in no better case than the tiny hut which is overwhelmed by an avalanche from the mountain-tops, or is caught, undermined, and washed away, by a forest torrent. . . . I had not clearly grasped such means of helping the poor as lie in the poor themselves; I did not feel it with the force and conviction that are necessary if the poor are to be awakened to a sense of the greatest and holiest of all means of helping them; I could not then make that appear as the most powerful national instrument of their salvation. . . .

Circumstances have compelled me to look more deeply

into the process of development of human power and into the bases of sound popular education. Ripe ideas about the value of elementary education are absolutely necessary if we are to attain decided and satisfactory ideas about popular education and the intimately associated question of the education of the poor. Such ideas demand on the one side the development of each individual power in accordance with the laws of its own nature, and the absolute recognition of the freedom of the will as the centre of the system of human capacities. They demand the recognition of the duty of educating the will through faith and love to self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of truth and right—for the truth of God and the cause of men. Reason also lays it down that systematic knowledge must proceed from trained capacity, and not *vice versa*. The same principle holds good in physical education—first train general capacity, and then specific dexterities. This is God's order, and no timely educational process can neglect it. . . . Otherwise you get an appearance of culture without the reality such as we mourn in our day.

A SCIENCE OF EDUCATION.

15. I thank God, therefore, that I have not been able to work continuously at the problem of popular education, before I have definitely come to the conclusion that education must be raised to the level of a science which must spring from, and be based upon, the deepest possible knowledge of human nature. I am, of course, grossly ignorant of this science. I have little more than a presentiment of it in my mind, but so lively has this presentiment become that my mind is full of it, as if it were already an established fact. But it is not my idea only. The whole circumstances of the time have made it a world-need. The world will recognize it. It will not refuse to welcome the mite which I—old man as I am—at this time of rejoicing, wish to lay upon the altar of humanity; nor will you, my friends and brothers whom

I have gathered around me to beg your co-operation in what I still think I may do for the working out of sounder and more systematic principles and methods of popular education—for which cause I have decided to make sure provision after my death.

FUTILE PHILANTHROPY.

But while I am speaking about what I myself would like to do for popular education, and for the betterment of the poor, I see around me much philanthropic activity. It does not please me, but I must take it into account, and not underestimate its value. Pity for the poor is common to all who are not blindly selfish, and in old times great things were quietly done by wealthy men on their behalf, relatively much more than is possible nowadays. The luxury of modern life creates thousands of suffering poor, where under simpler conditions there were not hundreds ; moreover, the assistance given to the poor in those days was animated more than now by sacred respect for the relations in which men stood to one another, relations which no longer hold in the estrangements of our social life. Poor dependents, poor neighbours, poor relations, poor servants, poor godchildren, do not appeal to us so directly as they formerly did. . . . The inequalities of position, which in the old times, through the noble free-handedness of neighbours, were helpful to the poor, now bring him to destruction. Any association of the poor with the luxuries of the rich makes them unworthy poor to whom our hearts are always closed. Thus, after making them unworthy, we excuse our inattention to them on the grounds of their unworthiness. We poison them with the sources of our own ruin, and then are shy of going near them. They fall out of notice through the contrast of their wretchedness with the glitter and parade of our own life. But, in spite of this, much is being done to help the real needs of the poor. Human selfishness, however much it increases, however unintelligent and unfeeling are its

growing modes of expression, even in the worst times, never entirely fails to provide measures for the assistance of the poor; and in the dreadful days, when the insufficiency of temporary assistance is most striking, charitable impulses well up in places where one would least expect to find them. But impulses of this kind cannot really help poverty, until we are more generally convinced that there are hidden in men—therefore also in poor men—powers which, for him who knows how to use them, are inexhaustible treasures.

It is now extremely urgent that men should be convinced of the truth of these statements, and, if God will, this present generation which is given up to the pursuit of gold, of pleasure, and of fame, will gradually realize that a poor child well cared for is of more value than a fat sheep, and that to raise villages from poverty and misery to a happy, self-respecting standard of life is more honourable than to possess ballrooms; that to awaken, in degraded manhood, gratitude and a desire for service brings more pleasure than stables filled with horses and numbers of footmen and lackeys. . . .

WHAT WEALTHY MEN MIGHT DO FOR POOR.

16. But I go into greater detail.

The better a private establishment is kept up as regards business efficiency, educative influence, and even comfort, the easier it is for the owner to receive a poor man into his house, to find him work of some kind, and in this way to make him independent, skilled, and employable. Upon further examination, one realizes what great opportunities for humanity and for education lie in the hands of the wealthier classes, if they realized the position. They might rescue thousands of young men and women from the overstocked agricultural market in which they were not pre-eminently successful, and enlist them in the service of humanity and the state. Assuredly the advantages would not be only on the side of the poor; we do not know what benefits rich and proud families

might gain if their children came into closer contact with the robust, unpretentious children of the working classes. . . . In possession of the soil, and thus driven to agriculture, the most primitive and simple instrument for human culture, the larger landed proprietor can make use of the work of poor children throughout the year to his own profit. It would cost him nothing to educate a few children, in addition to the oxen he is rearing for the plough, so that they may stay in his service about the same length of time as an ox is fit for work ; and if at the same time he makes them men of independent minds, what pleasure they would give him ! if he would introduce even a small element of humanity into his relations with them, his people would be happy in his service. Without trouble or expense, and even to his own advantage, he can make the stupid and helpless farm-labourer into a proficient workman, and so raise the standard of agricultural work in the country. Every large landed proprietor who does not prefer to spend the greater part of his time at court, or in the woods, or in the more or less harmless amusements which are possible on his estate, can, in the way I have described, render great service to the state, and open out new avenues for general national culture, by gradually making it possible for the most helpless of his labourers to become independent owners of small pieces of land. In this way the land would be levelled and become more profitable, and the position and welfare of the people would be improved.

Almost every head of an important branch of industry has some such opportunity of helping the poor, and of co-operating with them in their amelioration. All employés know that good manual work is a source of wealth, and employers are in a position to promote the training, welfare, and education of the poor, if they can in the first place enable the children of their workpeople to get a sound training in the special knowledge and practical skill which is essential to that particular industry, and, secondly, encourage them in their early years to put by their pence, and thus foster the idea of saving towards a

small competence of their own. It is impossible to estimate the amount that can be done to promote the integrity and morality of the poor by the respect for ownership and the spirit of thrift. What individuals can do in this way might be done on a larger scale if schools for poor children were established in which, not only some isolated branch of technical work would be taught, but also the fundamental, intellectual, and physical capacities could be trained, and the children would receive a good all-round education and reach a high degree of proficiency. The poor town youth who was enabled in this way to earn his own living would acquire those feelings of integrity and morality which are so intimately related to pecuniary independence ; moreover, the towns would no longer have to rely upon foreign workers and foreign manufacturers, and expenditure could be reduced all round.

RURAL EDUCATION.

17. The highest development of popular education and culture may, however, be reached in those districts where the poverty of the soil or scarcity of population makes it desirable to unite agricultural science with one or other town industry. This idea has always seemed to me to be the real basis of all popular education and culture. If it were scientifically organized, I believe it would be possible to achieve the best results for the population and prosperity of rural districts. I myself, more than forty years ago, conducted an institution for poor children at Neuhof, which aimed at combining agriculture with another local industry. My experience led to failure, but even so I am more than ever certain of the soundness of my idea. Neuhof is inexpressibly dear to me, both on account of my experiment and on account of the long period of distress into which it plunged me. I have held the place for forty years, although it has always meant pecuniary loss. It costs me twice as much as it is worth, but the thought, " You can still erect an institution for poor children there," prevents me from selling it. I still

hold to my youthful ideas, and although my views as to what is essential for the welfare of the poor are altered, I am filled with a kind of irrepressible longing to lose no time in carrying out some of my former aims on the old spot. But as this would be the last undertaking of my life, the preliminary steps must be carefully thought out before I make any public announcement. *Festina lente* is a precept which I have never followed, but its neglect has cost me many tears and sacrifices, and now, when I stand on the borders of the grave, I do not wish to wreck this, my last and most important enterprise, by committing the same mistake.

In the meantime, considering how easily and how cheaply poor children can be brought up on every farm, I can do something of this kind before waiting to set on foot those larger schemes, and I am desirous that in these times of national need and danger every possible step should be taken for the rescue of the poor. We should try to combine the few industries our nation possesses with the most scientific knowledge of agriculture in districts where natural resources are favourable, and we should in addition encourage a comprehensive knowledge of domestic thrift. Every method for relieving the distress of the nation by the advancement of culture is important to my plans.

18. But the various methods of poor relief in vogue are not really helpful to the nation or to the poor. In many cases they resemble the action of a man who throws a pair of shoe-buckles to the beggar who stands before his window without shoes or stockings, and asks for alms. Even under the most favourable circumstances they can have no effect upon the sources of our national corruption. . . .

SPIRIT OF POOR RELIEF.

19. If we examine more closely the customary methods of poor relief, we see how they are all wanting in the spirit of educational missionary effort—namely, that of divinely inspired parental love, the ennobling stimulus of the

childlike spirit, the purity of brotherly love and sisterly devotion which are not found outside the family circle ; they none of them offer the certain and continuous interaction of the sensory stimuli to faith and love with the equally powerful stimuli to intellectual and practical activity which freely and convincingly affect all human beings. They all lack the holy and elevating influence of family life. On the one hand, by their very magnitude they are deprived of the intimacy of the home, which is only found in a narrow circle in humble circumstances ; and, on the other hand, they are an expression of the power of the public, or at any rate of external authority, rather than of the happy good feeling of the domestic hearth. Who can doubt that such institutions, by their environment, and more particularly by the varied influence of directors, managers, house-keepers, etc., are exposed to situations in which parental sympathy would almost be out of place ? In the present condition of national ignorance, of moral, intellectual, and domestic decadence, of distress increasing in certain districts so seriously as to become a menace to the state—such institutions are absolutely essential. God grant that our hearts may always be inclined to minister to the physical and spiritual wants of the poor, in spite of the fact that our theories may be unscientific ; but at the same time let us not forget that institutions which may be efficient for the organization of fire-brigades, and for repairing the devastations of floods, are not therefore good educational organizations. Advisory precautions against the outbreak of fire and flood can be introduced into the rubric of national Boards, but the appliances for the relief of actual distress cannot come under that category.

HOME IS THE STARTING-PLACE OF EDUCATION.

20. The only genuine basis for popular education, national culture, and poor relief, is parental sympathy, which by its innocence, sincerity, and power, awakens the confidence of love in the hearts of the children. Thus

all their physical and spiritual capacities are combined towards loving and active obedience. It is in the sanctity of the home, where Nature herself makes full provision for harmony and direction in the development of human capacities, that we must seek the starting-point of our science of education. Only then can it become a national force and unite the external expression of human knowledge, power, and action, with the inner, eternal, Divine essence of our nature.

21. If the proposition *Inventis facile est addire* is true, much truer is it that the benefits which human ingenuity can give our race are easily linked on to the inner Divine element of our nature, but the reverse process, which makes this Divine element proceed from the man's paltry ingenuity, is the result of our modern misconceptions of life.

The living-room of the poor—I am not referring to those who are so degraded as to have no home life—is the centre of unity for all the Divine elements which belong to the formative powers of human nature. There, where God has provided wealth of power, it is easy for man to add his mite of service; but when, neglecting this consecrated spot, neglecting all the ties of home life, I might almost say neglecting God Himself, he casts his small contribution outside the unifying circle of faith and love into the mire of the world, or places it as a sacrifice upon the altar of selfishness, his attempts at education are of little avail. They illustrate the truth of the text, "He that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath," and present neglect of home life and its blessings has surely left us in the clouds. It is not only in the outer forms of modern life, with its fashions and ambitions in place of the pure joys and educative influence of the home, that we have come to grief. We have lost the religious faith of our fathers and the benefits which sprang from it.

Religion, which was the salvation of the quiet family circle, has in our days been robbed of all its spiritual character; it has become nothing better than an arrogant tendency to argue and dispute about Divine things, though there are not wanting signs of improvement.

22. One great evil of modern times which is a serious obstacle to progress is the fact that parents have lost the conviction that they themselves can do anything in the education of their children. This loss of self-confidence on the part of the parents explains the superficiality of our methods.

THE SEVEN EDUCATIONAL NEEDS.

1. *Parental Interest.*

23. The first object of national education should therefore be to restore this feeling, and to make parents realize that they are actually capable of training their children. Our fathers and mothers must, before everything else, be brought back to the conviction that the education of their children is primarily their concern rather than that of the tutors and nurses, and in this respect it is imperative that public opinion should return to the old-fashioned idea that every child who has lost his parents is still an unfortunate orphan, even though his guardian is in a position to employ the best educator in the world as his tutor. It is even more imperative that parents should realize the delight that comes from taking a personal interest in the education of their children, so that they may be loath to deprive themselves of it. It is imperative that they should realize what they miss through neglecting to interest themselves in their children's education. It is imperative that the present generation should learn that this loss of parental influence in education means not only that the most solid and satisfying side of life is no longer theirs, but also that the most sacred thing in the Christian home life is gone. Fathers and mothers must learn to reorganize their households, and find out what God has appointed them to be towards their children. They must realize the great possibilities of human nature, and mothers must regard their love for their child and their untiring devotion to his needs, not only as a primitive instinct which they share with the beasts of the field, but as a Divine power

through which they foster in the child the Divine unity of all the dispositions and impulses of human nature, maintaining that unity as a fixed principle throughout the period of the child's education. The father must look on the force which comes from his love as a God-given means for training his child to trustful obedience, and later to activity in all good work. Fathers and mothers in every rank of life must learn once more that God has given them in great measure the faculty of educating, and this faculty is intimately bound up with their faith in Him. They may see it always in their impulse to live for their children. We dare not conceal from ourselves the fact that it is the connection between the inner and the outer ; it is the dominance of the inner over the outer which enables us to find the true way of promoting a genuine national culture, and of wrestling successfully with our national evils..

[*Pestalozzi proceeds to describe the seven cardinal necessities for educational reform.*]

2. *A Book for the People.*

24. All those who are interested in education should make it their first care to compile a book for the people which would give parents of all ranks some idea of what might be done by them in training their children. It should be a book for mothers and for the home, and would in the first place aim at rousing men from their apathy concerning education. The task would be a Herculean one ; to produce it we should have to make use of all that is best in human nature, with its powers of comradeship, its insight, and its practical skill. It should describe the pleasures of educational effort so vividly as to attract parents towards it. It should unfold simply and convincingly the manifold opportunities which offer themselves to parents in leading their children to make use of their senses, as well as in the elevation of their emotional life. It would show them, too, how they might use the environment of the child, and employ systematic exercises in sensory apprehension to form, as it were,

as a basis for the complete and more scientific studies of later life. In a like way it would lead parents to see how the thought powers and the practical powers of the children could be exercised and developed. In a word, the book would seek to show how the will, the knowledge, and the capacity, of the race could be "naturally" helped on by simple means available in the poorest home.¹

25. It is, however, impossible to produce such a book so long as the attempts to do so are not based upon a comprehensive and uninterrupted investigation of the ways and means employed by Nature herself in the unfolding of our separate powers and of those higher laws by which she brings those separate powers into relation with the sum-total of all our faculties. Our efforts to establish a sound national culture must therefore have as their foundation a careful investigation of the procedure of Nature in the development of the human race. This, then, is our second need.

3. The Organization of Instruction in Particular Branches of Knowledge.

26. There is, thirdly, another not less important object—namely, that instruction in every branch of knowledge must be considered in relation to the fundamental faculties of human nature, and we must find out whether the devices and exercises in that particular study are in harmony with the natural development of those powers. We must also ascertain, in regard to every subject, what parts of it can be properly acquired by children—firstly through simple sensory activity, secondly through memory, and thirdly through imagination—and how such constituent parts can themselves be utilized on the one hand as a means of developing and exercising the fundamental natural faculties, and on the other hand simply as materials for acquiring knowledge of the subject, such as may be used later on when age and capacity permit.

¹ With this ambition of Pestalozzi's the student will compare Basedow's *Elementary Work*.

just as a man might bring wood, stone, mortar, and sand to a plot of land some time before he intends to erect the building for which he has gathered them.

4. *Use of Results already achieved in Number, Form, and Language.*

27. It is also equally important, in organizing a national system of culture, that we should contrive to make use of our experimental results in language, number, and form, as the pure elements of thought. Their practical application must be brought into harmony with the elementary exercises by which the social faculties of faith and love, as well as the practical capacities, are developed. . . .

5. *Organization of Physical Education.*

28. Next we need to organize physical education on these intellectual bases, starting with the training of hand and eye, and leading up to specific vocational training.

6. *Experimental Schools.*

29. It is, however, impossible that these measures can have a real influence upon national culture unless ways are found by which everyone can acquire the knowledge and skill which we have been discussing. It is therefore imperative that we should aim at establishing intimate relations between the education of the school and the home. Only in this way can knowledge and skill become the possession of the people, and at the same time be beneficial. Trial schools (*Probe Schulen*) must therefore be established in which the children may obtain such a mastery of the elements of intellectual and practical education that each of them, on leaving school, would be able in his turn to train his brothers and sisters. In this way the higher aim would gradually be achieved of enabling parents, not only to undertake the intellectual and moral training of their children at home, but also to provide for the development of their physical and practical capacities.

7. Trained Teachers also wanted.

30. In order, however, to make the establishment of such schools feasible, we must first of all insure a constant supply of reliable men and women who might control them. It is essential, if we are really to arrive at a psychologically sound national culture, to seek out a large number of poor young men and women of undoubted talent, assured morality, and proven skill, and to educate them with the greatest care for this special purpose. They must themselves have enjoyed—as far as is possible at the present time—a systematic training in the whole range of human faculties and dexterities in so far as they can be applied and put into practice in the homes of the people. . . .

42. To speak frankly, if I were in a position to put on a sound basis the promotion of those measures which, in my opinion, are essential for a sound national education, I would first of all do everything in my power to create and maintain a high standard in the homes of the people.

43. To that end I would set on one side the sum of £50,000, the yearly interest from which should only be used for the following purposes :

(1) The more extensive investigation of, and research into, the principles and practice of education, whereby the process might be still more simplified and made more applicable in the home.

(2) The education of “elementary” teachers (both men and women) in this spirit and for this purpose,

(3) The erection of one or more schools as “testing stations” in which the children shall be trained in the “elementary” method.

(4) The continuous working out of methods of home instruction and home education.

[Pestalozzi concludes this long address by discussing further the conditions he would lay down, and by appealing for the sympathy and help of his staff.]

V.—LETTERS TO GREAVES

[*Mr. J. P. GREAVES, an Englishman, had been a student of the Pestalozzian method in Yverdun in 1817-18. He had impressed Pestalozzi so favourably that the following, amongst other important letters, were addressed to him in the winter of 1818-19. They were translated and published in 1827. Who the translator was is not certain. The evidence points to Biber, who was in England at the time. That the translation is not a faithful one is admitted, whosoever did the work. The translator had obtained permission "to make any alterations that might become necessary from the circumstances under which the letters had originally been written," and he "availed himself freely" of the privilege.*

Although a close student of Pestalozzi would detect passages that have been polished almost out of recognition, the letters nevertheless represent the Pestalozzi spirit admirably. It is matter of surprise that they should never have been reprinted. The letters and passages which are omitted either deal with subjects already treated sufficiently elsewhere, or are repetitions within the letters themselves. A few verbal changes have been made in the text.]

LETTER XI

EARLY INFANCY

... I know not if philosophers would think it worth their while, but I feel confident that a mother would not decline to follow us in the consideration of the state in which the infant remains for some time after his birth.

HELPLESSNESS OF INFANCY.

This state, in the first place, strikes us as a state of utter helplessness. The first impression seems to be that of pain, or, at least, of a sensation of uneasiness. There is not yet the slightest circumstance that might remind us of any other faculties, except those of the animal nature of man ; and even these are on the very lowest stage of development.

A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ANIMAL
AND THE HUMAN.

Still, there is in this animal nature an instinct which acts with greater security, and which increases in strength as the functions of animal life are repeated day for day : this animal instinct has been known to make the most rapid progress, and to arrive very early at the highest point of strength and intensity, even when little or no attention has been paid to protect the infant from surrounding dangers, or to strengthen it by more than ordinary nourishment and care. It is a well-known fact that among savage nations the animal powers of children are capable of great exertions, and of rapid development, which proves sufficiently that this part of human nature is altogether parallel with the instinct in the rest of the animal creation.

ANIMAL AND HUMAN INFANT COMPARED.

So striking is this similarity that we frequently find every attempt to discover any trace of another faculty treated with ridicule. Indeed, while we are assiduous in our attention to that part of human nature in the earliest stage of life, which would require but little of our care, we are but too apt to overlook and to neglect that which in its first appearance is certainly very weak, but which is by its very weakness entitled to our care and support, and which may well inspire in us an interest in its development that would amply reward us for our labours.

For, striking as this similarity may be, we can never be justified in overlooking the distinction that exists between the infant, even in the first era of life, and the animal, which apparently may have made a more rapid progress, and may be far superior in the qualifications which constitute a sound and comfortable state of animal existence.

The animal will for ever remain on that point of bodily strength and sagacity to which its instinct has conducted it so rapidly. For the whole duration of its life, its enjoyments and exertions, and, if we may say so, its attainments, will remain stationary. It may through old age, or through unfavourable circumstances, be thrown back; but it will never advance beyond that line of physical perfection which is attendant on its full growth. A new faculty, or an additional use of the former ones, is an event unheard of in the natural history of the animal creation.

It is not the same with man.

INSTINCT AND GERM OF MORALITY.

In him there is something which will not fail, in due time, to make itself manifest in a series of facts altogether independent of animal life. While the animal is for ever actuated by that instinct to which it owes its preservation and all its powers and enjoyments, a something will assert its right in man to hold the empire over all his powers; to control the lower part of his nature, and to lead him to those exertions which will secure for him a place in the scale of moral being.

The animal is destined by the Creator to follow the instinct of its nature. Man is destined to follow a higher principle. *His* animal nature must no longer be permitted to rule him, as soon as his spiritual nature has commenced to unfold.

- It will be the object of my next letter to point out to the mother the epoch at which she may expect the first tokens of a spiritual nature in her infant.

LETTER XII

MATERNAL LOVE—A WARNING

WE have seen that the animal instinct is always intent on instantaneous gratification, without ever adverting to the comfort or interest of others.

As long as no other faculty is awake, this instinct, and its exclusive dominion over the child, cannot properly be considered as faulty ; there is not yet any consciousness in it : if it be selfish in appearance, it is not wilfully so : and the Creator Himself seems to have ordained that it should be so strong, and, indeed, exclusively prevailing, while consciousness and other faculties could not yet contribute to secure even the first condition of animal life—self-preservation.

But if, after the first indication of a higher principle, this instinct be still allowed to act, unchecked and uncontrolled as before, then it will commence to be at war with conscience, and every step in which it is indulged will carry the child further in selfishness, at the expense of his better and more amiable nature.

BALANCE BETWEEN OVER-INDULGENCE AND NEGLECT.

I wish this to be clearly understood ; and I shall perhaps better succeed in explaining the rules which I conceive to flow from it for the use of the mother, than in dwelling longer on the abstract position. In the first place, let the mother adhere steadfastly to the good old rule, to be regular in her attention to the infant ; to pursue as much as possible the same course ; never to neglect the wants of her child when they are real, and never to indulge them when they are imaginary, or because they are expressed with importunity. The earlier and the more constant her adherence to this practice, the greater and the more lasting will be the real benefit obtained for her child.

The expediency and the advantages of such a plan will soon be perceived, if it is constantly practised. The first advantage will be on the part of the mother. She will be subject to fewer interruptions; she will be less tempted to give way to ill-humour; though her patience may be tried, yet her temper will not be ruffled: she will upon all occasions derive real satisfaction from her intercourse with her child; and her duties will not more often remind her, than her enjoyments, that she is a mother.

But the advantage will be still greater on the part of the child.

Every mother will be able to speak from experience either of the benefit which her children derived from such a treatment, or of the unfavourable consequences of a contrary proceeding. In the first instance, their wants will have been few and easily satisfied; and there is not a more infallible criterion of perfect good health. But if, on the contrary, that rule has been neglected; if, from a wish to avoid anything like severity, a mother has been tempted to give way to unlimited indulgence, it will but too soon appear that her treatment, however well meant, has been injudicious. It will be a source of constant uneasiness to her, without giving satisfaction to her child; she will have sacrificed her own rest without securing the happiness of her child. . . .

We are not all born to be philosophers; but we aspire all to a sound state both of mind and body, and of this the leading feature is—to desire little, and to be satisfied with even less.

LETTER XIV

CHILD'S RESPONSE TO MOTHER'S LOVE

FROM the reasons stated in my last letter, I think it right to assume that maternal love is the most powerful agent, and that affection is the primitive motive in early education.

AUTHORITY *v.* AFFECTION.

In the first exercise of her authority, the mother will therefore do well to be cautious, that every step may be justified by her conscience and by experience; she will do well to think of her responsibility and of the important consequences of her measures for the future welfare of her child; she will find that the only correct view of the nature of her own authority is to look upon it as a duty rather than as a prerogative, and never to consider it as absolute. If the infant remains quiet, if it is not impatient or troublesome, it will be for the sake of the mother.

I would wish every mother to pay attention to the difference between a course of action adopted in compliance with authority and conduct pursued for the sake of another.

The first proceeds from reasoning; the second flows from affection. The first may be abandoned when the immediate cause may have ceased to exist; the latter will be permanent, as it did not depend upon circumstances or accidental considerations, but is founded in a moral and constant principle.

In the case now before us, if the infant does not disappoint the hope of the mother, it will be a proof, first of affection, and secondly of confidence.

AFFECTION WINS AFFECTION AND CONFIDENCE.

Of affection—for the earliest and the most innocent wish to please is that of the infant wishing to please the mother. If it be questioned whether that wish can at all exist in one so little advanced in development, I would again, as I would do upon almost all occasions, appeal to the experience of mothers.

It is a proof, also, of confidence. Whenever an infant has been neglected, when the necessary attention has not been paid to its wants, and when, instead of the smile of kindness, it has been treated with the frown of severity, it will be difficult to restore it to that quiet and

amiable disposition in which it will wait for the gratification of its desires without impatience, and enjoy it without greediness.

If affection and confidence have once gained ground in the heart, it will be the first duty of the mother to do everything in her power to encourage, to strengthen, and to elevate, this principle.

She must encourage it, or the yet tender emotion will subside, and the strings which are no longer attuned to sympathy will cease to vibrate, and sink into silence. But affection has never yet been encouraged except by affection, and confidence has never been gained except by confidence : the tone of her own mind must raise that of her child.

MATERNAL CONSTANCY.

For she must be intent also upon strengthening that principle. Now, there is one means only for strengthening any energy, and that means is practice. The same effort, constantly repeated, will become less and less difficult, and every power, mental or physical, will go through a certain exercise with more assurance and success the more it grows familiar with it by custom. There cannot, therefore, be a safer course for the mother to pursue than to be careful that her proceedings may, without interruption or dissonance, be calculated to excite the affection and secure the confidence of her child. She must not give way to ill-humour or tedium, not for one moment ; for it is difficult to say how the child may be affected by the most trifling circumstance. It cannot examine the motives, nor can it anticipate the consequences, of an action : with little more than a general impression of the past, it is entirely unconscious of the future ; and thus the present bears upon the infant mind with the full weight of pain, or soothes it with the undiminished charm of pleasing emotions. If the mother consider this well, she may spare her child the feeling of much pain, which, though not remembered as occasioned by special occurrences, may yet leave a cloud as it were upon the mind, and gradually

weaken that feeling which it is her interest, as well as her duty, to keep awake.

But it is not enough for her to encourage and strengthen, she must also elevate that same feeling.

She must not rest satisfied with the success which the benevolence of her own intentions, which the disposition and temper of her child, may have facilitated: she must recollect that education is not a uniform and mechanical process, but a work of gradual and progressive improvement. Her present success must not betray her into security or indolence; and the difficulties which she may chance to meet with must not damp her zeal or stop her endeavours. She must bear in mind the ultimate ends of education; she must always be ready to take her share in the work which as a mother she stands pledged to forward—the elevation of the moral nature of man.

LETTER XVI

MOTHER AND MORAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILD

If the mother has once accustomed herself to take the view to which I alluded in my last, of the affection and the confidence of her infant, the whole of her duties will appear to her in a new light.

EDUCATION A SACRED OBLIGATION OF THE MOTHER.

She will then look upon education, not as a task which to her is invariably connected with much labour and difficulty, but as a work of which the facility, and in a great measure the success also, is dependent on herself. She will look upon her own efforts in behalf of her child, not as a matter of indifference, or at least of convenience, but as a most sacred and most weighty obligation. She will be convinced that education does not consist in a series of admonitions and corrections, of rewards and punishments, of injunctions and directions, strung together

without unity of purpose or dignity of execution ; but that it ought to present an unbroken chain of measures, originating in the same principle—in a knowledge of the constant laws of our nature ; practised in the same spirit—a spirit of benevolence and firmness ; and leading to the same end—the elevation of man to the true dignity of a spiritual being.

But will the mother be able to spiritualize the unfolding faculties, the rising emotions, of her infant ? Will she be able to overcome those obstacles which the preponderance of the animal nature will throw in her way ? . . .

MOTHER'S SELF-DENIAL LEADS TO LIKE IN CHILD.

Her best and almost infallible criterion will be whether she really succeeds in accustoming her child to the practice of self-denial.

Of all the moral habits which may be formed by a judicious education, that of self-denial is the most difficult to acquire, and the most beneficial when adopted. . . .

The greatest difficulty which the mother will find in her early attempts to form that habit in her infant does not rest with the opportunity of the infant, but with her own weakness.

If she is not herself able to resign her own comfort and her own fond desires to her maternal love, she must not think of obtaining such a result in the infant for her own sake. It is impossible to inspire others with a moral feeling if she is not herself pervaded with it. To endear any virtue to another, she must herself look upon her own duty with pleasure. If she has known Virtue only as the awe-inspiring goddess—

“ With gait and garb austero,
And threatening brow severo ”

—she will never obtain that mastery over the heart, which is not yielded up to authority, but bestowed as the free gift of affection.

But if the mother has in the discipline of early years,

or in the experience of life, herself gone through a school of self-denial ; if she has nourished in her own heart the principle of active benevolence, if she knows "resignation, not by name only, but from practice ; then her eloquence, her look of maternal love, her example, will be persuasive, and the infant will in a future day bless her memory, and honour it by a virtuous life.

LETTER XX

EARLY INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL ACTIVITIES

CHILD'S INCREASING INDEPENDENCE.

... IN the progress of time the child not only is daily exercising and strengthening its physical faculties, but it begins also to feel intellectually and morally independent.

CURIOSITY.

From observation and memory there is only one step to reflection. Though imperfect, yet this operation is frequently found among the early exercises of the infant mind. The powerful stimulus of inquisitiveness prompts to exertions, which if successful or encouraged by others will lead to a habit of thoughtfulness.

If we inquire into the cause of the habit of thoughtlessness, which is so frequently complained of, we shall find that there has been a want of judicious encouragement of the first attempts at thought.

THE CHILD'S QUESTIONS.

Children are troublesome ; their questions are of little consequence ; they are constantly asking about what they do not understand ; they must not have their will ; they must learn to be silent.

This reasoning is frequently adopted, and in consequence means are found to deter children from the provoking practice of their inquisitiveness.

I am certainly of opinion that they should not be indulged in a habit of asking idle questions. Many of their questions certainly betray nothing more than a childish curiosity. But it would be astonishing if it were otherwise ; and the more judicious should be the answers which they receive.

You are acquainted with my opinion, that, as soon as the infant has reached a certain age, every object that surrounds him might be made instrumental to the excitement of thought. You are aware of the principles which I have laid down, and the exercises which I have pointed out to mothers.¹ You have frequently expressed your astonishment at the success with which mothers who followed my plan, or who had formed a similar one of their own, were constantly employed in awakening, in very young children, the dormant facultics of thought. The keenness with which they followed what was laid before them, the regularity with which they went through their little exercises, has given you the conviction that upon a similar plan it would be easy, not only for a mother to educate a few, but for a teacher also to manage a large number of very young children. But I have not now to do with the means which may be best appropriated to the purpose of developing thought. I merely want to point to the fact that thought will spring up in the infant mind ; and that, though neglected, or even misdirected, yet a restless intellectual activity must sooner or later enable the child, in more than one respect, to grow *intellectually independent* of others.

CHILD TAKES UP ATTITUDES TOWARDS PERSONS.

But the most important step is that which concerns the affections of the heart.

The infant very soon commences to show by signs, and by its whole conduct, that it is pleased with some person,

* The best practical illustration, in English, of these details, will be found in the several numbers of the publication *Hints to Parents : In the Spirit of Pestalozzi's Method* (1827).

and that it entertains a dislike, or rather that it is in fear, of others.

In this respect habit and circumstances may do much, but I think it will be generally observed that an infant will be easily accustomed to the sight and the attentions of those whom it sees frequently and in friendly relation to the mother.

Impressions of this kind are not lost upon children. The friends of the mother soon become those of the infant. An atmosphere of kindness is the most kindred to its own nature. It is unconsciously accustomed to that atmosphere, and from the undisturbed smile, and the clear and cheerful glance of the eye, it is evident that it enjoys it.

The infant, then, learns to love those whom the mother considers with affection. It learns to confide in those to whom the mother shows confidence.

Thus it will go on for some time. But the more the child observes, the more distinct are the impressions produced by the conduct of others.

It will therefore become possible even for a stranger, and one who is a stranger also to the mother, by a certain mode of conduct to gain the affection and the confidence of a child. To obtain them, the first requisite is constancy in the general conduct. It would appear scarcely credible, but it is strictly true, that children are not blind to, and that some children resent, the slightest deviation, for instance, from truth.

In like manner, bad temper, once indulged, may go a great way to alienate the affection of the child, which can never be gained a second time by flatteries. This fact is certainly astonishing ; and it may also be quoted as evidence for the statement that there is in the infant a pure sense of the true and the right, which struggles against the constant temptation, arising from the weakness of human nature, to falsehood and depravity.

The child, then, begins to judge for himself, not of things only, but also of men ; he acquires an idea of character ; he grows more and more *morally independent*.

LETTER XXI
EDUCATION AND LIFE

CHILD'S RIGHT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL HIS
FACULTIES.

... WE must bear in mind that the ultimate end of education is, not a perfection in the accomplishments of the school, but fitness for life; not the acquirement of habits of blind obedience and of prescribed diligence, but a preparation for independent action. We must bear in mind that, whatever class of society a pupil may belong to, whatever calling he may be intended for, there are certain faculties in human nature common to all, which constitute the stock of the fundamental energies of man. We have no right to withhold from anyone the opportunities of developing all their faculties. It may be judicious to treat some of them with marked attention, and to give up the idea of bringing others to high perfection. The diversity of talent and inclination, of plans and pursuits, is a sufficient proof for the necessity of such a distinction. But I repeat that we have no right to shut out the child from the development of those faculties also, which we may not for the present conceive to be very essential for his future calling or station in life.

Who is not acquainted with the vicissitudes of human fortune, which have frequently rendered an attainment valuable that was little esteemed before, or led to regret the want of application to an exercise that had been treated with contempt? Who has not at some time or other experienced the delight of being able to benefit others by his advice or assistance, under circumstances when, but for his interference, they must have been deprived of that benefit? And who, even if in practice he is a stranger to it, would not at least in theory acknowledge that the greatest satisfaction that man can obtain is a consciousness that he is pre-eminently qualified to render himself useful?

But even if all this were not deserving of attention, if the sufficiency of ordinary acquirements for the great majority were vindicated on grounds, perhaps, of partial experience, and of inference from well-known facts, I would still maintain that our systems of education have for the most part been labouring under this inconvenience, that they did not assign the due proportion to the different exercises proposed by them.

The only correct idea of this subject is to be derived from the examination of human nature with all its faculties. . . .

Thus education, instead of merely considering what is to be imparted to children, ought to consider first what they may be said already to possess, if not as a developed, at least as an innate faculty capable of development. Or if, instead of speaking thus in the abstract, we will but recollect that it is to the great Author of life that man owes the possession, and is responsible for the use, of his innate faculties, education should not only decide what is to be made of a child, but rather inquire, What is a child qualified for? what is his destiny as a created and responsible being? what are his faculties as a rational and moral being? what are the means pointed out for their perfection, and the end held out as the highest object of their efforts, by the Almighty Father of all, both in creation and in the page of revelation?

To these questions the answer must be simple and comprehensive. It must combine all mankind; it must be applicable to all without distinction of zones or nations in which they may be born. It must acknowledge, in the first place, the rights of man in the fullest sense of the word. It must proceed to show that these rights, far from being confined to those exterior advantages which have from time to time been secured by a successful struggle of the people, embrace a much higher privilege, the nature of which is not yet generally understood or appreciated. They embrace the rightful claims of all classes to a general diffusion of useful knowledge, a careful development of the intellect, and judicious

attention to all the faculties of man, physical, intellectual, and moral.

It is in vain to talk of liberty when man is unnerved, or his mind not stored with knowledge, or his judgment neglected, and, above all, when he is left unconscious of his rights and his duties as a moral being.

LETTER XXII

PHYSICAL EDUCATION—GYMNASISTICS

IF, according to correct principles of education, all the faculties of man are to be developed, and all his slumbering energies called into play, the early attention of mothers must be directed to a subject which is generally considered to require neither much thought nor experience, and therefore is generally neglected. I mean the physical education of children. . . .

GRADATION OF EXERCISES NECESSARY.

The revival of gymnastics is, in my opinion, the most important step that has been done in that direction. The great merit of the gymnastic art is not the facility with which certain exercises are performed, or the qualification which they may give for certain exertions that require much energy and dexterity; though an attainment of that sort is by no means to be despised. But the greatest advantage resulting from a practice of those exercises is the natural progress which is observed in the arrangement of them, beginning with those which, while they are easy in themselves, yet lead as a preparatory practice to others which are more complicated and more difficult. There is not, perhaps, any art in which it may be so clearly shown that energies which appeared to be wanting may be produced, as it were, or at least may be developed, by no other means than practice alone. This might afford a most useful hint to all those who are engaged in teaching any object of instruction, and who meet with difficulties

in bringing their pupils to that proficiency which they had expected. Let them recommence on a new plan, in which the exercises shall be differently arranged, and the subjects brought forward in a manner that will admit of the natural progress from the easier to the more difficult. When talent is wanting altogether, I know that it cannot be imparted by any system of education. But I have been taught by experience to consider the cases in which talents of any kind are absolutely wanting, but very few. And in most cases I have had the satisfaction to find that a faculty which had been quite given up, instead of being developed, had been obstructed rather in its agency by a variety of exercises which tended to perplex or to deter from further exertion.

And here I would attend to a prejudice which is common enough concerning the use of gymnastics : it is frequently said that they may be very good for those who are strong enough, but that those who are suffering from weakness of constitution would be altogether unequal to, and even endangered by, a practice of gymnastics.

REMEDIAL GYMNASTICS.

Now, I will venture to say that this rests merely upon a misunderstanding of the first principles of gymnastics ; the exercises not only vary in proportion to the strength of individuals, but exercises may be, and have been, devised for those also who were decidedly suffering. And I have consulted the authority of the first physicians, who declared that, in cases which had come under their personal observation, individuals affected with pulmonary complaints, if these had not already proceeded too far, had been materially relieved and benefited by a constant practice of the few and simple exercises which the system in such cases proposes.

And for this very reason, that exercises may be devised for every age and for every degree of bodily strength, however reduced, I consider it to be essential that mothers should make themselves acquainted with the principles

of gymnastics, in order that, among the elementary and preparatory exercises, they may be able to select those which, according to circumstances, will be most likely to suit and benefit their children.

I do not mean to say that mothers should strictly adhere to those exercises only which they may find pointed out in a work on gymnastics ; they may, of course, vary them as they find desirable or advisable ; but I would recommend a mother much rather to consult one who has some experience in the management of gymnastics *with children*, before she decides upon altering the course proposed, or upon adopting other exercises of which she is unable to calculate the exact degree of strength which they may require, or the benefit that her children may derive from them.

GYMNASICS AND MORAL TRAINING.

If the physical advantage of gymnastics is great and incontrovertible, I would contend that the moral advantage resulting from them is as valuable. I would again appeal to your own observation. You have seen a number of schools in Germany and Switzerland of which gymnastics formed a leading feature¹; and I recollect that, in our conversations on the subject, you made the remark, which exactly agrees with my own experience, that gymnastics, well conducted, essentially contribute to render children, not only cheerful and healthy, which, for moral education are two all-important points, but also to promote among them a certain spirit of union, and a brotherly feeling, which is most gratifying to the observer ; habits of industry, openness and frankness of character, personal courage, and a manly conduct in suffering pain, are also among the natural and constant consequences of an early and continued practice of exercises on the gymnastic system.

¹ Gymnastics were a leading feature of the schools of the Philanthropists, e.g., that of Salzmann.

LETTER XXIII

TRAINING OF EYE AND EAR—MUSIC IN EDUCATION

PHYSICAL education ought by no means to be confined to those exercises which now receive the denomination of "gymnastics." By means of them strength and dexterity will be acquired in the use of the limbs in general ; but particular exercises ought to be devised for the practice of all the senses.

This idea may at first appear a superfluous refinement or an unnecessary encumbrance of free development. We have acquired the full use of our senses, to be sure, without any special instruction of that sort ; but the question is not whether these exercises are indispensable, but whether, under many circumstances, they will not prove very useful.

TRAINING IN SENSORY DISCRIMINATION.

How many are there of us whose eye would, without any assistance, judge correctly of a distance or of the proportion of the size of different objects ? How many are there who distinguish and recognize the nice shades of colours, without comparing the one with the other ; or whose ear will be alive to the slightest variation of sound ? Those who are able to do this with some degree of perfection will be found to derive their facility either from a certain innate talent or from constant and laborious practice. Now, it is evident that there is a certain superiority in these attainments, which natural talent gives without any exertion, and which instruction could never impart, though attended by the most diligent application. But if practice cannot do everything, at least it can do much ; and the earlier it is begun, the easier and the more perfect must be the success.

A regular system of exercises of this description is yet a desideratum. But it cannot be difficult for a mother to introduce a number of them, calculated to develop

and perfect the eye and the ear, into the amusements of her children. For it is desirable that everything of that kind should be treated as an amusement, rather than as anything else. The greatest liberty must prevail, and the whole must be done with a certain cheerfulness, without which all these exercises, as gymnastics themselves, would become dull, pedantic, and ridiculous.

EARLY TRAINING IN AESTHETICS.

It will be well to connect these exercises very early with others, tending to form the taste. It seems not to be sufficiently understood that good taste and good feelings are kindred to each other, and that they reciprocally confirm each other. Though the ancients have said that "to study those arts which are suited to a free-born mind soothes the character, and takes away the roughness of exterior manners," yet little has been done to give free access to those enjoyments or accomplishments to all, or even to the majority of the people. If it is not possible for them to give much of their attention to subordinate or ornamental pursuits, while so much of their time is taken up by providing for their first and necessary wants, still, this does not furnish a conclusive reason why they should be shut out altogether from every pursuit above the toil of their ordinary avocations.

Yet I know not a more gratifying scene than to see, as I have seen it among the poor, a mother spreading around her a spirit of silent but serene enjoyment, diffusing among her children a spring of better feelings, and setting the example of removing everything that might offend the taste—not, indeed, of a fastidious observer, but yet of one used to move in another sphere. It is difficult to describe by what means this can be effected. But I have seen it under circumstances which did not promise to render it even possible. Of one thing I am certain, that it is only through the true spirit of maternal love that it can be obtained. That feeling, of which I cannot too frequently repeat that it is capable of an elevation to

the standard of the very best feelings of human nature, is intimately connected with a happy instinct that will lead to a path equally remote from listlessness and indolence, as it is from artificial refinement. Refinement and fastidiousness may do much, if upheld by constant watchfulness ; a nature, however, a truth, will be wanting ; and even the casual observer will be struck with a restraint incompatible with an atmosphere of sympathy.

MUSIC.

Now that I am on the topic, I will not let the opportunity pass by without speaking of one of the most effective aids of moral education. You are aware that I mean Music ; and you are not only acquainted with my sentiments on that subject, but you have also observed the very satisfactory results which we have obtained in our schools. The exertions of my excellent friend Nageli, who has with equal taste and judgment reduced the highest principles of his art to the simplest elements, have enabled us to bring our children to a proficiency which, on any other plan, must be the work of much time and labour.

NATIONAL SONGS.

But it is not the proficiency which I would describe as a desirable accomplishment in education. It is the marked and most beneficial influence of music on the feelings, which I have always thought and always observed to be most efficient in preparing or attuning, as it were, the mind for the best of impressions. The exquisite harmony of a superior performance, the studied elegance of the execution, may indeed give satisfaction to a connoisseur ; but it is the simple and untaught grace of melody which speaks to the heart of every human being. Our own national melodies, which have since time immemorial been resounding in our native valleys, are fraught with reminiscences of the brightest page of our history, and of the most endearing scenes of domestic life. But the

effect of music in education is not only to keep alive a national feeling: it goes much deeper; if cultivated in the right spirit, it strikes at the root of every bad or narrow feeling: of every ungenerous or mean prosperity, of every emotion unworthy of humanity. In saying so I might quote an authority which commands our attention on account of the elevated character and genius of the man from whom it proceeds. It is well known that there was not a more eloquent and warm advocate of the moral virtues of music than the venerable Luther. But though his voice has made itself heard, and is still held in the highest esteem among us, yet experience has spoken still louder, and more unquestionably, to the truth of the proposition which he was among the first to vindicate. Experience has long since proved that a system proceeding upon the principle of sympathy would be imperfect, if it were to deny itself the assistance of that powerful means of the culture of the heart. Those schools, or those families in which music has retained the cheerful and chaste character which it is so important that it should preserve have invariably displayed scenes of moral feeling, and consequently of happiness, which leave no doubt as to the intrinsic value of that art, which has sunk into neglect, or degenerated into abuse, only in the ages of barbarism or depravity.

I need not remind you of the importance of music in engendering and assisting the highest feelings of which man is capable. It is almost universally acknowledged that Luther has seen the truth, when he pointed out music, devoid of studied pomp and vain ornament, in its solemn and impressive simplicity, as one of the most efficient means of elevating and purifying genuine feelings of devotion.

We have frequently, in our conversations on this subject, been at a loss how to account for the circumstance that in your own country, though that fact is as generally acknowledged, yet music does not form a more prominent feature in general education. It would seem that the notion prevails, that it would require

more time and application than can conveniently be bestowed upon it to make its influence extend also on the education of the people.

Now, I would appeal, with the same confidence as I would to yourself, to any traveller, whether he has not been struck with the facility, as well as the success, with which it is cultivated among us. Indeed, there is scarcely a village school throughout Switzerland, and perhaps there is none throughout Germany or Prussia, in which something is not done for an acquirement at least of the elements of music on the new and more appropriate plan.

This is a fact which it cannot be difficult to examine, and which it will be impossible to dispute; and I will conclude this letter by expressing the hope which we have been entertaining together, that this fact will not be overlooked in a country which has never been backward in suggesting or adopting improvement, when founded on facts and confirmed by experience.

LETTER XXIV

DRAWING

IN the branch of education of which I have been treating in the two last letters, I conceive that to the elements of music should be subjoined the elements of drawing.

IMITATIVE POWERS OF CHILDREN.

We all know from experience that among the first manifestations of the faculties of a child is a desire and an attempt at imitation. This accounts for the acquirement of language, and for the first imperfect utterance of sounds imitative of music, which is common to most children when they have heard a tune with which they were pleased. The progress in both depends on the greater or smaller portion of attention which children give to the things that surround them, and on their quickness of

perception. In the very same way as this applies to the ear and the organs of speech, it applies also to the eye and the employment of the hand. Children who evince some curiosity in the objects brought before their eyes very soon begin to employ their ingenuity and skill in copying what they have seen. Most children will manage to construct something in imitation of a building, of any materials they can lay hold of.

THEIR RELATION TO DRAWING.

This desire, which is natural to them, should not be neglected. It is, like all the faculties, capable of regular development. It is therefore well to furnish children with playthings which will facilitate these their first essays, and occasionally to assist them. No encouragement of that sort is lost upon them, and encouragement should never be withheld when it promotes innocent pleasure, and when it may lead to useful occupation. To relieve them from the monotonousness of their daily and hourly repeated trifles, and to introduce variety into their little amusements, acts as a stimulus to their ingenuity, and sharpens their observation, while it gains their interest.

As soon as they are able to make the essay, there is nothing so well calculated for this object as some elementary practice of drawing. You have seen the course of preparatory exercises by which some of my friends have so well succeeded in facilitating these pursuits for quite young children. It would be unreasonable to expect that they should begin by drawing any object before them as a whole. It is necessary to analyze for them the parts and elements of which it consists. Whenever this has been attempted, the progress has been astonishing, and equalled only by the delight with which the children followed this their favourite pursuit. . . .

The general advantages resulting from an early practice of drawing are evident to everyone. Those who are familiar with the art are known to look upon almost every object with eyes different, as it were, from a common

observer. One who is in the habit of examining the structure of plants, and conversant with a system of botany, will discover a number of distinguishing characteristics of a flower, for instance, which remain wholly unnoticed by one unacquainted with that science. It is from this same reason that, even in common life, a person who is in the habit of drawing, especially from Nature, will easily perceive many circumstances which are commonly overlooked, and form a much more correct impression even of such objects as he does not stop to examine minutely, than one who has never been taught to look upon what he sees with an intention to reproduce a likeness of it. The attention to the exact shape of the whole, and the proportion of the parts, which is requisite for the taking of an adequate sketch, is converted into a habit, and becomes in many cases productive of much instruction and amusement.

DRAWING FROM NATURE.

In order to attain this habit, it is very material, and almost indispensable, that children should not be confined to copying from another drawing, but from Nature. The impression which the object itself gives is so much more striking than its appearance in an imitation ; it gives a child much more pleasure to be able to exercise his skill in attempting a likeness of what surrounds him, and of what he is interested in, than in labouring at a copy of what is but a copy itself, and has less of life or interest in its appearance.

It is likewise much easier to give an idea of the important subject of light and shade, and of the first principles of perspective, as far as they influence the representation of every object, by placing it immediately before the eye. The assistance which is given should by no means extend to a direction in the execution of every detail ; but something should be left to the ingenuity, something also to patience and perseverance : an advantage that has been found out after some fruitless attempts is not easily

forgotten ; it gives much satisfaction and encouragement to new efforts ; and the joy in the ultimate success derives a zest from previous disappointment.

MODELLING.

Next to the exercises of drawing come those of modelling, in whatever materials may be most conveniently employed. This is frequently productive of even more amusement. Even where there is no distinguished mechanical talent, the pleasure of being able to do something at least is, with many, a sufficient excitement ; and both drawing and modelling, if taught on principles which are founded in Nature, will be of the greatest use when the pupils are to enter upon other branches of instruction.

DRAWING AS A HELP IN OTHER SUBJECTS.

Of these I shall here only mention two—geometry and geography. The preparatory exercises by which we have introduced a course of geometry present an analysis of the various combinations under which the elements of form are brought together, and of which every figure or diagram consists. These elements are already familiar to the pupil who has been taught to consider an object with a view to decompose it into its original parts, and to draw them separately. The pupil, of course, will not be a stranger to the materials, of which he is now to be taught the combinations and proportions. It must be easier to understand the properties of a circle, for instance, or of a square; for one who has not only met with these figures occasionally, but who is already acquainted with the manner in which they are formed. Besides, the doctrine of geometrical solids, which cannot in any degree be satisfactorily taught without illustrative models, is much better understood, and much deeper impressed on the mind, when the pupils have some idea of the construction of the models, and when they are able to work out, at least those which are less complicated.

In geography, the drawing of outline maps is an exercise

which ought not to be neglected in any school. It gives the most accurate idea of the proportional extent, and the general position of the different countries ; it conveys a more distinct notion than any description, and it leaves the most permanent impression on the memory.

LETTER XXV

THE EDUCATION OF MOTHERS

To the courses of exercises which I have recommended, I anticipate that an objection will be raised which it is necessary for me to meet before I proceed to speak of intellectual education.

Granting that these exercises may be, as the phrase is, useful in their way ; granting, even, that it might be desirable to see some of the knowledge they are intended to convey diffused among all classes of society, yet where, it will be asked, and by what means, can they be expected to become general among any other than the higher classes ? There you may expect to find mothers competent, if at all inclined, to undertake the superintendence of such exercises with their children. But, considering the present state of things, is it not absolutely chimerical to imagine that among the people mothers should be found who were qualified to do anything for their children in that direction ?

To this objection I would answer, in the first place, that it is not always legitimate to argue from the present state of things to the future ; and whenever, as in the case before us, the present state of things can be proved to be faulty, and at the same time capable of improvement, every friend of humanity will concur with me in saying that such an argument is inadmissible.

It is inadmissible ; for experience speaks against it. The page of history, to a thinking observer, presents mankind labouring under the influence of a chain of prejudice, of which the links are successively broken.

The most interesting events in history are but the

consummation of things which had been deemed impossible. It is in vain to assign limits to the improvements of ingenuity ; *but it is still more so to circumscribe the exertions of benevolence.*

Such a conclusion, then, is inadmissible. And history speaks more directly to the point. The most consequential facts plead in favour of our wishes and our hopes. The most enlightened, the most active philanthropists, two thousand years ago, could not have foreseen the change that has taken place in the intellectual world : they could not have anticipated those facilities by which not only the research of a few is encouraged, but by which the practical results of that research are, with wonderful rapidity, communicated to thousands in the remotest countries of the globe. They could not have foreseen the glorious invention by which ignorance and superstition have been driven out of their stronghold, and knowledge and truth diffused in the most universal and the most effective channels. They could not have foreseen that a spirit of inquiry would be excited even among those who had formerly been doomed to blind belief and to passive obedience.

THE SPREAD OF KNOWLEDGE.

Indeed, if there is one feature by which this present age bids fair to redeem its character, and to heal the wounds which it has inflicted on the suffering nations, it is this—that we see efforts being made in every direction, with a zeal and to an extent hitherto unparalleled, to assist the people in acquiring that portion of intellectual independency without which the true dignity of the human character cannot be maintained nor its duties adequately fulfilled. There is something so cheering in the prospect of seeing the number of those for whom it is destined extending with the range of knowledge itself, that there is scarcely a field left of which men of superior talent have not undertaken to cull the flowers and to store the fruits for those who have not time or faculty to toil at the elements or follow up the refinements of science ; and the

still more material object of facilitating the first steps, of laying the foundation, of insuring slow but solid progress, and this in the manner best adapted to the nature of the human mind and to the development of its faculties—this object has been pursued with an interest and an ardour that even the results which I have seen in my own immediate neighbourhood are a sufficient pledge that the pursuit will not be abandoned, and that it is not now far from its ultimate success.

NOT ENOUGH WITHOUT MATERNAL LOVE.

This prospect is cheering ; but, my dear friend, it is not upon this prospect that I have built the hopes of my life. It is not the diffusion of knowledge, whether it be grudgingly doled out in schools on the old plan, or more liberally supplied in establishments on a new principle, or submitted to the examination, and laid open for the improvement of the adults—it is not the diffusion of knowledge alone to which I look up for the welfare of this or of any generation. No : unless we succeed in giving a new impulse, and raising the tone of **DOMESTIC EDUCATION** ; unless an atmosphere of sympathy, elevated by moral and religious feeling, be diffused there ; unless maternal love be rendered more instrumental in early education than any other agent ; unless mothers will consent to follow the call of their own better feelings more readily than those of pleasure or of thoughtless habit ; unless they will consent to be mothers and to act as mothers—unless such be the character of education, all our hopes and exertions can end only in disappointment.

HOME LIFE THE TRUE CENTRE OF EDUCATION.

Those have indeed widely mistaken the meaning of all my plans, and of those of my friends, who suppose that in our labours for popular education we have not a higher end in view than the improvement of a system of instruction, or the perfection, as it were, of the gymnastics of the

intellect. We have been busily engaged in reforming the schools, for we consider them as essential in the progress of education ; but we consider the fireside circle as far more essential. We have done all in our power to bring up children with a view to become teachers, and we have every reason to congratulate the schools that were benefited by this plan ; but we have thought it the most important feature and the first duty of our own schools, and of every school, to develop in the pupils confided to our care those feelings, and to store their minds with that knowledge, which, at a more advanced period of life, may enable them to give all their heart and the unwearyed use of their powers to the diffusion of the true spirit which should prevail in a domestic circle. In short, whoever has the welfare of the rising generation at heart cannot do better than consider as his highest object the *Education of Mothers.*

LETTER XXVI

MOTHER AND CHILD'S EDUCATION

LET me repeat that we cannot expect any real improvement in education, improvement that shall be felt throughout an extensive sphere, and that shall continue to spread in the progress of time, increasing in vigour as it proceeds —we cannot expect any improvement of that character unless we begin by *educating mothers.*

It is their duty in the domestic circle to do what school instruction has not the means of accomplishing : to give to every individual child that degree of attention which in a school is absorbed in the management of the whole ; to let their heart speak in cases where the heart is the best judge ; to gain by affection what authority could never have commanded.

But it is their duty also to turn all the stock of their knowledge to account, and to let their children have the benefit of it.

I am aware that under the present circumstances many mothers would either declare themselves, or would

be looked upon by others, as incompetent to attempt any such thing ; as so poor in knowledge, and so unpractised in communicating knowledge, that such an undertaking on their part would appear as vain and presumptuous.

Now, this is a fact which, as far as experience goes, I am bound to deny. I am not now speaking of those classes or individuals whose education has been, if not very diligently, at least in some measure attended to. I have now in view a mother whose education has from some circumstances or other been totally neglected. I will suppose one who is even ignorant of reading and writing, though in no country in which the schools are in a proper state you would meet with an individual deficient in this respect. I will add, a young and inexperienced mother.

Now, I will venture to say that this poor and wholly ignorant, this young and inexperienced mother is *not quite destitute* of the means of assisting even in the intellectual development of the child.

SHE TEACHES HIM NAMES OF OBJECTS.

However small may be the stock of her experience, however moderate her own faculties, she must be aware that she is acquainted with an infinite number of facts—such, we will say, as they occur in common life—to which her infant is yet a stranger. She must be aware that it will be useful to the infant to become soon acquainted with some of them, such, for instance, as refer to things with which it is likely to come into contact. She must feel herself able to give her child the possession of a variety of names simply by bringing the objects themselves before the child, pronouncing the names and making the child repeat them. She must feel herself able to bring such objects before the child in a sort of natural order—the different parts, for instance, of a fruit. Let no one despise these things because they are little. There was a time when we were ignorant even of the least of them, and there are those to whom we have reason to be thankful for teaching us these little things.

SHE TALKS TO HIM ABOUT HOME SURROUNDINGS.

But I do not mean to say that a mother should stop there. Even the mother of whom we are speaking, that wholly ignorant and inexperienced mother, is capable of going much farther, and of adding a variety of knowledge which is really useful. After she has exhausted the stock of objects which presented themselves first, after the child has acquired the names of them, and is able to distinguish their parts, it may probably occur to her that something more might still be said on every one of these objects. She will find herself able to describe them to the child with regard to form, size, colour, softness or hardness of the outside, sound when touched, and so on. She has now reached a material point; from the mere knowledge of the names of objects she has led the infant to a knowledge of their qualities and properties. Nothing can be more natural for her than to go on and compare different objects with regard to these qualities, and the greater or smaller degree in which they belong to the objects. If the former exercises were adapted to cultivate the memory, these are calculated to form the observation and judgment. She may still go much farther: she is able to tell her child the reasons of things and the causes of facts. She is able to inform him of the origin, and the duration, and the consequences, of a variety of objects. The occurrences of every day and of every hour will furnish her with materials for this sort of instruction. Its use is evident; it teaches the child to inquire after the causes, and accustoms him to think of the consequences, of things. I have an opportunity in another place to speak of natural and religious instruction; I will therefore only remain with a few words, that this last-mentioned class of exercises, which may be varied and extended in an almost endless series, will give frequent occasion for the simplest illustration of truths belonging to that branch. It will make the child reflect on the consequences of actions; ideas are rendered the mind familiar with thought; and it will edify

before him, the effects of the infinite wisdom of that Being whom, long before, the piety of the mother, if genuine, must have led him to revere, and to love "with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his strength, and with all his mind." . . .

And I know not a motive which might render those efforts more interesting than the desire of a mother to do all in her power for the mental as well as for the physical and moral development of her children. However circumscribed her means, and however limited at first may be her success, still, there is something that will and must prompt her not to rest, that will stimulate her to new efforts, and that will at last crow them with fruits which are the more gratifying the more ~~they~~ were difficult to obtain.

Experience has shown that mothers, in that seemingly forlorn situation which I have described, have succeeded beyond their own expectation. I look upon this as a new proof of the fact that nothing is too difficult for maternal love, animated by a consciousness of its purity, and elevated by a confidence in the power of Him who has inspired the mother's heart with that ^{pc} feeling. I do indeed consider it as a free gift of the ^{pc} creator, and I firmly believe that in the same measure as maternal love is ardent and indefatigable, in the same measure as it is inspired with energy and enhanced ^{pc} a by faith—I firmly believe that in the same measure ^{pc} maternal love will be strengthened in its exertions, and ^{pc} reapplyed with means, even where it appears most destitute.

Though, as I have shown above, it is ^{pc} means so difficult to direct the attention of children to useful objects, yet nothing is more common than ^{pc} complaint, "I can do nothing with children." If ^{pc} comes from an individual who is not called upon ^{pc} a peculiar situation to occupy himself with education, ^{pc} but fair to suppose that he will be able to make ^{pc} little ^{pc} self more useful in another direction than he could ^{pc} done by a laborious and persevering application ^{pc} task for which he is neither predisposed by ^{pc} inclin ^{pc} or fitted

by eminent talent. But those words should never come from a mother. A mother is called upon to give her attention to that subject. It is her duty to do so ; the voice of conscience in her own breast will tell her that it is ; and the consciousness of a duty never exists without the qualification to fulfil it ; nor has a duty ever been undertaken with the spirit of courage, of confidence, of love, that has not been ultimately crowned with success.

LETTER XXVII

CHARACTER V. KNOWLEDGE IN THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

If ever an uneducated and totally unassisted mother has it in her power to do so much for her child, how much better qualified must she be, and how much more confidently may she look forward to the results of her maternal exertions, if her faculties have been properly developed, and her steps guided by the experience of those who had engaged in that work before her !

IMPORTANCE OF EARLY EDUCATION.

The fact, therefore, which I stated in my last letter, far from rendering my proposition questionable, goes directly to confirm its validity and to illustrate its expediency. I therefore repeat it, and I would address it in the strongest language to all those who, like myself, are desirous of bringing about a change in our present imperfect system of education. If you really wish to embark with your facilities, your time, your talents, your influence, in a cause likely to benefit a large portion of your species ; if you wish not to be busy in suggesting palliatives, but in effecting a permanent cure of the evils under which thousands have sunk, and hundreds of thousands are still suffering ; if you wish not merely to erect an edifice that may attract by its splendour and

commemorate your name for awhile, but which shall pass away like "the baseless fabric of a vision"; if, on the contrary, you prefer solid improvement to momentary effect, and the lasting benefit of many to the solitary gratification of striking results, let not your attention be diverted by the apparent wants, let it not be totally engrossed by the subordinate ones, but let it at once be directed to the great and general, though little known, source from which good or evil flows in quantity incalculable, and rapidity unparalleled—to the manner in which the earliest years of childhood are passed, and to the education of those to whose care they are, or ought to be, consigned.

WANTED : A SCHOOL FOR FUTURE MOTHERS.

Of all institutions, the most useful is one in which the great business of education is not merely made a means subservient to the various purposes of ordinary life, but in which it is viewed as an object in itself deserving of the most serious attention, and to be brought to the highest perfection; a school in which the pupils are taught to act as teachers, and educated to act as educators; a school, above all, in which the *female character* is at an early age developed in that direction, which enables it to take so prominent a part in early education.

To effect this, it is necessary that the female character should be thoroughly understood and adequately appreciated. And on this subject nothing can give a more satisfactory illustration than the observation of a mother who is conscious of her duties and qualified to fulfil them. In such a mother, the moral dignity of her character, the suavity of her manners, and the firmness of her principles, will not more command our admiration than the happy mixture of judgment and feeling which constitutes the simple but unerring standard of her actions.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

It is the great problem in female education to effect this happy union in the mind, which is equally far from imposing any restraint on the feelings as it is from warping or biassing the judgment. The marked preponderance of feeling which is manifested in the female character requires not only the most clear-sighted, but also the kindest attention, from those who wish to bring it into harmony with the development of the faculties of the intellect and the will.

It is a mere prejudice to suppose that the acquirement of knowledge and the cultivation of the intellect must either not be solid and comprehensive, or that they are apt to take away from the female character its simplicity and all that renders it truly amiable. Everything depends on the motive from which, and the spirit in which, knowledge is acquired. Let that motive be one that does honour to human nature, and let that spirit be the same which is concomitant to all the graces of the female character—"Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retired"—and there will be modesty to insure solidity of knowledge, and delicacy to guard against the misdirection of sentiment.

For an example, I might refer to one of the numerous instances, which are not the less striking because they are not extensively known, in which a mother has devoted much of her time and her best abilities to the acquirement of some branches of knowledge in which her education had been defective, but which she conceived to be valuable enough to be brought forward in the education of her own children. This has been the case with individuals highly accomplished in many respects, but still alive to every defect, and desirous of supplying it, if not for their own, at least for the benefit of their children.

And no mother has ever been known to have repented of any pains that she took to qualify herself for the most perfect education of those nearest and dearest to her heart. Even without anticipating the future accomplishment of

her wishes, by their progress in the path in which she has undertaken to guide them, she is amply repaid by the delight immediately arising from the task,

“ . . . To rear the tender thought,
And teach the young idea how to shoot.”

I have here supposed the most powerful motive, that of maternal love ; but it will be the task of early education to supply motives, which even at a tender age may excite an interest in mental exertion, and yet be allied to the best feelings of human nature.

LETTER XXVIII

THINGS *v.* WORDS

MEMORY *v.* UNDERSTANDING.

If a mother is desirous of taking an active part in the intellectual education of her children, I would first direct her attention to the necessity of considering, not only what sort of knowledge, but in what manner that knowledge should be communicated to the infant mind. For her purpose, the latter consideration is even more essential than the former ; for, however excellent the information may be which she wishes to impart, it will depend on the mode of her doing it whether it will at all gain access to the mind, or whether it will remain unprofitable, neither suiting the faculties nor being apt to excite the interest of the child.

In this respect a mother should be able perfectly to distinguish between the mere action of the memory and that of the other faculties of the mind.

To the want of this distinction I think we may safely ascribe much of the waste of time, and the deceptive exhibition of apparent knowledge, which is so frequent in schools, both of a higher and of a lower character. It is a mere fallacy to conclude, or to pretend, that knowledge has been acquired from the circumstance that

terms have been committed to the memory, which, if rightly understood, convey the expression of knowledge. This condition, *if rightly understood*, which is the most material, is the most generally overlooked. No doubt a proceeding of this sort, when words are committed to the memory, without an adequate explanation being either given or required, is the most commodious system for the indolence or ignorance of those who practise upon it as a system of instruction. Add to which the powerful stimulus of vanity in the pupils—the hope of distinction and reward in some, the fear of exposure or punishment in others—and we shall have the principal motives before us owing to which this system, in spite of its wretchedness, has so long been patronized by those who do not think at all, and tolerated by those who do not sufficiently think for themselves.

What I have said just now of the exercise of the memory, exclusive of a well-regulated exercise of the understanding, applies more especially to the manner in which the dead languages have long been, and in some places still are, taught—a system of which, taking it all in all, with its abstruse and unintelligible rules and its compulsive discipline, it is difficult to say whether it is more absurd in an intellectual or more detestable in a moral point of view.

THINGS RATHER THAN WORDS.

If such a system, enforcing the partial exercise of the memory, is so absurd in its application and so detrimental in its consequences, at a period when the intellect may be supposed to be able to make some progress, at least, without being so constantly and anxiously attended to, an exclusive cultivation of the memory must be still more misapplied at the tender age when the intellect is only just dawning, when the faculty of discerning is yet unformed, and unable to consign to the memory the notions of separate objects in their distinction from each other. For a mother to guard against an error of this

kind, the first rule is, to teach always by *things* rather than by *words*. Let there be as few objects as possible named to the infant, unless you are prepared to show the objects themselves. If this is the case, the name will be committed to the memory, together with the recollection of the impression which the object produced on the senses. It is an old saying, and a very true one, that our attention is much more forcibly attracted, and more permanently fixed, by objects which have been brought before our eyes, than by others of which we have merely gathered some notion from hearsay and description, or from the mention of a name.

But if a mother is to teach by *things*, she must recollect, also, that to the formation of an idea more is requisite than the bringing the object before the senses. Its qualities must be explained ; its origin must be accounted for ; its parts must be described, and their relation to the whole ascertained ; its use, its effects or consequences, must be stated. All this must be done, at least, in a manner sufficiently clear and comprehensive to enable the child to distinguish the object from other objects, and to account for the distinction which is made.

It is natural that the degree of perfection with which the formation of ideas on this plan can be facilitated depends upon circumstances which are not always under the control of a mother ; but something of the kind should be attempted, and must be, wherever education is intended to take a higher character than mere mechanical training of the memory.

PICTURES..

Of objects which cannot be brought before the child in reality, pictures should be introduced. All instruction founded on pictures will be found a favourite branch with children ; and if this curiosity is well directed, and judiciously satisfied, it will prove one of the most useful and instructive.

Whenever the knowledge of an abstract idea, which

will not, of course, admit of any representation of that kind, is to be communicated to the child, on the same principle an equivalent of that representation should be given by an illustration, through the medium of a fact, laid before the child. This is the original intention and the use of moral tales ; and this, too, agrees with the excellent old adage, " that the way by precept is long and laborious, that by example short and easy."

LETTER XXIX

THE CHILD HIS OWN EDUCATOR

THE second rule that I would give to a mother, respecting the early development of the infant mind, is this : Let the child not only be acted upon, but let him be an *agent* in intellectual education.

SPONTANEOUS ACTIVITY OF CHILD.

I shall explain my meaning : Let the mother bear in mind that her child has not only the faculties of attention to, and retention of, certain ideas or facts, but also a faculty of reflection, independent of the thoughts of others. It is good to make a child read, and write, and learn, and repeat—but it is still better to make a child think. We may be able to turn to account the opinions of others, and we may find it valuable or advantageous to be acquainted with them ; we may profit by their light ; but we can render ourselves most useful to others, and we shall be entitled to the character of valuable members of society, by the efforts of our own mind ; by the result of our own investigations ; by those views, and their application, which we may call our intellectual property.

I am not now speaking of those leading ideas which are from time to time thrown out, and by which science is advanced or society benefited at large. I am speaking of that stock of intellectual property which everyone,

even the most unpretending individual, and in the humblest walks of life, may acquire. I am speaking of that habit of reflection which guards against unthinking conduct under any circumstances, and which is always active to examine that which is brought before the mind ; that habit of reflection which excludes the self-sufficiency of ignorance or the levity of " a little learning "— which may lead an individual to the modest acknowledgment that he knows but little, and to the honest consciousness that he knows that little well. To engender this habit, nothing is so effective as an early development, in the infant mind, of thought — regular, self-active thought.,

MOTHER'S EMPIRICAL KNOWLEDGE BETTER GUIDE THAN PHILOSOPHY.

Let not the mother suffer herself to be detained from this task by the objections of those who deem the infant mind altogether incapable of any exertion of that kind. I will venture to say that those who propose that objection, though they may be the profoundest thinkers or the greatest theorists, will be found to have no *practical* knowledge whatsoever of the subject, nor any moral interest in the investigation of it. And I for one would trust more in the *empirical* knowledge of a mother, proceeding from exertions to which she was prompted by maternal feeling—in that empirical knowledge, even of an illiterate mother, I would trust more than in the theoretical speculations of the most ingenious philosophers. There are cases in which sound sense and a warm heart sees farther than a highly refined, cold and calculating head.

I would therefore call upon the mother to begin her task, in spite of any objections that may be raised. It will be enough if she is persuaded to *begin* ; she will then, continue of herself ; she will derive such gratification from her task that she will never think of relaxing.

While she unfolds the treasures of the infant mind,

and awakens the world of hitherto slumbering thought, she will not envy the assurance of philosophers, who would have the human mind to be a "universal blank." Engaged in a task which calls into activity all the energies of her mind and all the affections of her heart, she will smile at their dictatorial speculations and their supercilious theories. Without troubling herself about the knotty question, whether there are any *innate ideas*, she will be content if she succeeds in developing the *innate faculties of the mind*.

If a mother asks for the designation of the subjects which might be profitably used as vehicles for the development of thought, I would answer her that any subject will do, if it be treated in a manner suitable to the faculties of the child. It is the great art in teaching never to be at a loss for the choice of an object for the illustration of a truth. There is not an object so trivial that in the hands of a skilful teacher might not become interesting, if not from its own nature, at least from the mode of treating it. To a child everything is new. The charm of novelty, it is true, soon wears off; and if there is not the fastidiousness of matured years, there is at least the impatience of infancy to contend with. But then there is for the teacher the great advantage of a combination of simple elements which may diversify the subject without dividing the attention.

If I say that any subject will do for the purpose, I mean this to be understood literally. Not only is there not one of the little incidents in the life of a child—in his amusements and recreations, in his relations to his parents and friends and playfellows—but there is actually nothing within the reach of the child's attention, whether it belong to Nature or to the employments and arts of life, that might not be made the object of a lesson, by which some useful knowledge might be imparted, and, which is still more important, by which the child might be familiarized with the habit of thinking on what he sees, and speaking after he has thought.

METHOD THAT OF CONVERSATION AND QUESTIONS.

The mode of doing this is not by any means to talk much to a child, but to enter into conversation *with a child*; not to address to him many words, however familiar or well chosen, but to bring him to express himself on the subject; not to exhaust the subject, but to question the child about it, and to let him find out, and correct, the answers. It would be ridiculous to expect that the volatile spirits of an infant could be brought to follow any lengthy explanations. The attention of a child is deadened by long expositions, but roused by animated questions.

Let these questions be short, clear, and intelligible. Let them not merely lead the child to repeat, in the same or in varied terms, what he has heard just before. Let them excite him to observe what is before him, to recollect what he has learned, and to muster his little stock of knowledge for materials for an answer. Show him a certain quality in one thing, and let him find out the same in others. Tell him that the shape of a ball is called "round"; and if, accordingly, you bring him to point out other objects to which the same predicament belongs, you have employed him more usefully than by the most perfect discourse on rotundity. In the one instance he would have had to listen and to recollect; in the other he has to observe and to think.

LETTER XXX

“WEARINESS IS THE CARDINAL SIN OF
INSTRUCTION”

EXERTION MUST BE EXPECTED.

WHEN I recommend to a mother to avoid *wearying* a child by her instructions, I do not wish to encourage the notion that instruction should always take the character of an amusement, or even of a play. I am convinced

that such a notion, where it is entertained and acted upon by a teacher, will for ever preclude solidity of knowledge, and, from a want of sufficient exertions on the part of the pupils, will lead to that very result which I wish to avoid by my principle of a constant employment of the thinking powers.

A child must very early in life be taught a lesson which frequently comes too late, and is then a most painful one—that exertion is indispensable for the attainment of knowledge. But a child should not be taught to look upon exertion as an unavoidable *evil*. The motive of *fear* should not be made a stimulus to exertion. It will destroy the interest, and will speedily create disgust.

INTEREST SHOULD PROMOTE IT, NOT FEAR.

This *interest* in study is the first thing which a teacher, and, in the instances before us, which a mother, should endeavour to excite and keep alive. There are scarcely any circumstances in which a want of application in children does not proceed from a want of interest ; and there are, perhaps, none under which a want of interest does not originate in the mode of treating adopted by the teacher. I would go as far as to lay it down for a rule, that whenever children are inattentive, and apparently take no interest in a lesson, the teacher should always first look to himself for the reason. When a quantity of dry matter is before a child, when a child is doomed to listen in silence to lengthy explanations, or to go through exercises which have nothing in themselves to relieve or attract the mind—this is a tax upon his spirits which a teacher should make it a point to abstain from imposing. In the same manner, if the child, from the imperfection of his reasoning powers or his unacquaintance with facts, is unable to enter into the sense, or to follow the chain of ideas in a lesson ; when he is made to hear, or to repeat, what to him is but “sound without sense”—this is perfectly absurd. And when to all this the fear of punishment is added—besides the tedium, which in itself is punishment enough—this becomes absolutely cruel.

PUNISHMENTS.

Of all tyrants, it is well known that little tyrants are the most cruel ; and of all little tyrants, the most cruel are *school tyrants*. Now, in all civilized countries cruelty of every description is forbidden, and even cruelty to animals is very properly punished, in some by the law of the land, and in all stigmatized by public opinion. How, then, comes **CRUELTY TO CHILDREN** to be so generally overlooked, or, rather, thought a matter of course ?

Some, forsooth, will tell us that their own measures are wonderfully humane—that their punishments are less severe—or that they have done away with corporal punishments. But it is not to the severity of them that I object—nor would I venture to assert, in an unqualified manner, that corporal punishments are inadmissible under any circumstances in education. But I do object to their application—I do object to the principle *that the children are punished when the master or the system is to blame*.

As long as this shall continue—as long as teachers will not take the trouble, or will not be found qualified, to inspire their pupils with a living interest in their studies—they must not complain of the want of attention, nor even of the aversion to instruction which some of them may manifest. Could we witness the indescribable tedium which must oppress the juvenile mind while the weary hours are slowly passing away, one by one, in an occupation which they can neither relish nor understand its use ; could we remember the same scenes which our own childhood has undergone, we would then no longer be surprised at the remissness of the school-boy “ creeping like a snail, unwillingly, to school.”

In saying this I do not mean to make myself the advocate of idleness, or of those irregularities which will now and then be met with even in the best-conducted schools. But I would suggest that the best means to prevent them from becoming general is to adopt a better mode of instruction, by which the children are less left to themselves, less thrown upon the unwelcome employ-

ment of passive listening, less harshly treated for little and excusable failings—but more roused by questions, animated by illustrations, interested and won by kindness.

SYMPATHY BETWEEN TEACHER AND TAUGHT.

There is a most remarkable reciprocal action between the interest which the teacher takes and that which he communicates to his pupils. If he is not with his whole mind present at the subject ; if he does not care whether it is understood or not, whether his manner is liked or not, he will never fail of alienating the affections of his pupils, and of rendering them indifferent to what he says. But real interest taken in the task of instruction—kind words and kinder feelings, the very expression of the features, and the glance of the eye—are never lost upon children.

LETTER XXXI

THE ELEMENTARY MEANS

You are aware of the nature of those exercises which were adopted at my suggestion, as calculated to employ the mind usefully, and to prepare it for further pursuits, by eliciting thought and forming the intellect.

I would call them preparatory exercises, in more than one respect. They embrace the elements of number, form, and language ; and whatever ideas we may have to acquire in the course of our life, they are all introduced through the medium of one of these three departments.

NUMBER AND FORM.

The relations and proportions of number and form constitute the natural measure of all those impressions which the mind receives from without. They are the measures, and comprehend the qualities, of the material world ; form being the measure of space, and number the

measure of time. Two or more objects, distinguished from each other as existing separately in space, presuppose an idea of their forms, or, in other words, of the exact space which they occupy ; distinguished from each other as existing at different times, they come under the denomination of number.

The reason why I would so early call the attention of children to the elements of number and form is, besides their general usefulness, that they admit of a most perspicuous treatment—a treatment, of course, far different from that in which they are but too often involved, and rendered utterly unpalatable to those who are by no means deficient in abilities.

The elements of number, or preparatory exercises of calculation, should always be taught by submitting to the eye of the child certain objects representing the units. A child can conceive the idea of two balls, two roses, two books ; but it cannot conceive the idea of "two" in the abstract. How would you make the child understand that two and two make four unless you show it to him first in reality ? To begin by abstract notions is absurd and detrimental, instead of being conducive. The result is, at best, that the child can do the thing by rote—without understanding it ; a fact which does not reflect on the child, but on the teacher, who knows not a higher character of instruction than mere mechanical training.

If the elements are thus clearly and intelligibly taught, it will always be easy to go on to more difficult parts, remembering always that the whole should be done by *questions*. As soon as you have given to the child a knowledge of the names by which the numbers are distinguished, you may appeal to it to answer any question of simple addition, or subtraction, or multiplication, or division, performing the operation in reality by means of a certain number of objects, balls for instance, which will serve in the place of units.

HIGHER ARITHMETIC.

It has been objected that children who had been used to a constant and palpable exemplification of the units, by which they were enabled to execute the solution of arithmetical questions, would never be able afterwards to follow the problems of calculation in the abstract, their balls, or other representatives, being taken from them.

Now, experience has shown that those very children, who had acquired the first elements in the concrete and familiar method described, had two great advantages over others. First, they were perfectly aware, not only what they were doing, but also of the reason why. They were acquainted with the principle on which the solution depended ; they were not merely following a formula by rote ; the state of the question changed, they were not puzzled, as those are who see only as far as their mechanical rule goes, and not farther. This, while it produced confidence and a feeling of safety, gave them also much delight—a difficulty overcome, with the consciousness of a . . . happy effort, always prompts to the undertaking of a new one.

MENTAL ARITHMETIC.

The second advantage was that children well versed in those illustrative elementary exercises afterwards displayed great skill in *head calculation* (*calcul de tête*). Without repairing to their slate or paper, without making any memorandum of figures, they not only performed operations with large numbers, but they arranged and solved questions which at first might have appeared involved, even had the assistance of memoranda or working on paper been allowed.

Of the numerous travellers of your nation who did me the honour to visit my establishment, there was none, however little he might be disposed or qualified to enter into a consideration of the whole of my plan, who did not express his astonishment at the perfect ease, and the quickness, with which arithmetical problems, such as the visitors used to propose, were solved. I do not mention

this, and I did not then feel any peculiar satisfaction, on account of the display with which it was connected, though the acknowledgment of strangers can by no means be indifferent to one who wishes to see his plan judged of by its results. But the reason why I felt much interested and gratified by the impression which that department of the school invariably produced was, that it singularly confirmed the fitness and utility of our elementary course. It went a great way, at least with me, to make me hold fast the principle that the infant mind should be acted upon by illustrations taken from reality, not by rules taken from abstraction ; that we ought to teach by *things* more than by *words*.

GEOMETRY.

In the exercises concerning the elements of form, my friends have most successfully revived and extended what the ancients called the *analytical method*—the mode of eliciting facts by problems, instead of stating them in theories ; of elucidating the origin of them, instead of merely commenting on their existence ; of leading the mind to invent, instead of resting satisfied with the invention of others. So truly beneficial, so stimulating, is that employment to the mind, that we have learned fully to appreciate the principle of Plato, that whoever wished to study metaphysics with success ought to prepare himself by the study of geometry. It is not the acquaintance with certain qualities or proportions, of certain forms and figures (though, for many purposes, this is applicable in practical life, and conducive to the advancement of science), but it is the precision of reasoning, and the ingenuity of invention, which, springing as it does from a familiarity with those exercises, qualifies the intellect for exertion of every kind.

LANGUAGE—MATERNAL AND FOREIGN.

In exercises of number and form, less abstraction is at first required than in similar ones in language. But I would insist on the necessity of a careful instruction in

the maternal language. Of foreign tongues, or of the dead languages, I think that they ought to be studied, by all means, by those to whom a knowledge of them may become useful, or who are so circumstanced that they may indulge a predilection for them, if their taste or habits lead that way. But I know not of one single exception that I would make of the principle, that as early as possible a child should be led to contract an intimate acquaintance with, and make himself perfectly master of, his native tongue.

Charles the Fifth used to say that as many languages as a man possessed, so often was he man. How far this may be true I will not now inquire; but thus much I know to be a fact, that the mind is deprived of its first instrument or organ, as it were, that its functions are interrupted and its ideas confused, when there is a want of perfect acquaintance and mastery of at least *one language*. The friends of oppression, of darkness, of prejudice, cannot do better, nor have they at any time neglected the point, than to stifle the power and facility of free, manly, and well-practised speaking; nor can the friends of light and liberty do better, and it were desirable that they were more assiduous in the cause, than to procure to everyone, to the poorest as well as to the richest, a facility, if not of elegance, which would enable them to collect and clear up their vague ideas, and embody those which are distinct, and which would awaken a thousand new ones.

LETTER XXXII

AIM OF EDUCATION

EDUCATION AND GOD.

NEED I point out to you the motive from which I have said thus much on the early attention to be paid to physical and intellectual education? Need I remind you that I consider these branches merely as leading to an higher aim—to qualify the human being to the free and full use of all the faculties implanted by the Creator—

and to direct all these faculties towards the perfection of the whole being of man, that he may be enabled to act, in his peculiar station, as an instrument of that all-wise and almighty Power that has called him into life. This is the view which education should lead an individual to take of his relation to his Maker—a view which will at once give him humility to acknowledge the imperfection of his attempts and the weakness of his power, and inspire him with the courage of an unshaken confidence in the Source of all that is good and true.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL EFFICIENCY.

In relation to society, man should be qualified by education to be a useful member of it. In order to be truly useful, it is necessary that he should be truly *independent*. Whether that independence may arise from his circumstances, or whether it be acquired by the honourable use of his talents, or whether it be owing to more laborious exertion and frugal habits, it is clear that true independence must rise and fall with the dignity of his moral character rather than with affluent circumstances, or intellectual superiority, or indefatigable exertion. A state of bondage or of self-merited poverty is not more degrading than a state of dependence on considerations which betray littleness of mind, or want of moral energy or of honourable feeling. An individual whose actions bear the stamp of independence of mind cannot but be a useful as well as an esteemed member of society. He fills up a certain place in society, belonging to himself and to no other, because he has obtained it by merit and secured it by character. His talents, his time, his opportunities, or his influence, are all given to a certain end. And even in the humbler walks of life, it has always been acknowledged that there were individuals who, by the intelligent, the frank, the honourable character of their demeanour, and by the meritorious tendency of their exertions, deserved to be mentioned together with those whose names were illustrated by the halo of noble birth and by the still brighter glory of genius or merit. That

such instances are but exceptions, and that these exceptions are so few, is owing to the system of education which generally prevails, and which is little calculated to promote independence of character.

EDUCATION AND HAPPINESS—CONDITIONS OF HAPPINESS.

Considering man as an individual, education should contribute in giving him happiness. The feeling of happiness does not arise from exterior circumstances ; it is a state of mind, a consciousness of harmony both with the inward and the outward world : it assigns their due limits to the desires, and it proposes the highest aim to the faculties of man. For happy is he who can bring his desires within the measure of his means, and who can resign to every individual and selfish wish, without giving up his content and repose—whose feeling of general satisfaction is not dependent on individual gratification. And happy again is he who, whenever self is out of the question, and the higher perfection of his better nature, or the best interests of his race, are at stake—happy is he who then knows of no limits to his efforts, and who can bring them to keep pace with his most sanguine hopes ! The sphere of happiness is unbounded, it is extending as the views are enlarged ; it is elevated as the feelings of the heart are raised, it “grows with their growth, and strengthens with their strength.”

In order to give the character described here to the actions and to the life of an individual, I consider it as necessary that all the faculties implanted in human nature should be properly developed. It is not that *virtuosity* ought to be attained in any direction, or that a degree of excellence ought to be anxiously aspired to, which is the exclusive privilege of pre-eminent talent. But there is a degree of development of all the faculties which is far from the refinement of any ; and of such a course the great advantage will be, to prepare the mind for a more especial application to any line of studies congenial to its inclination or connected with certain pursuits.

With regard to the claim which every human being has to a judicious development of his faculties by those to whom the care of his infancy is confided—a claim of which the universality does not seem to be sufficiently acknowledged—allow me to make use of an illustration which was on one occasion proposed by one of my friends. Whenever we find a human being in a state of suffering, and near to the awful moment which is for ever to close the scene of his pains and his enjoyments in this world, we feel ourselves moved by a sympathy which reminds us that, however low his earthly condition, here too there is one of our race, subject to the same sensations of alternate joy and grief—born with the same faculties, with the same destination, and the same hopes for a life of immortality. And as we give ourselves up to that idea, we would fain, if we could, alleviate his sufferings, and shed a ray of light on the darkness of his parting moments. This is a feeling which will come home to the heart of everyone—even to the young and the thoughtless, and to those little used to the sight of woe. Why, then, we would ask, do we look with a careless indifference on those who enter life? why do we feel so little interest in the feelings and in the condition of those who enter upon that varied scene, of which, if we would but stop to reflect, we might contribute to enhance the enjoyments and to diminish the sum of suffering, of discontent and wretchedness?

And that education might do that is the conviction of all those who are competent to speak from experience. That it *ought* to do as much is the persuasion, and that it *may once* accomplish it is the constant endeavour, of all those who are truly interested in the welfare of mankind.

LETTER XXXIII

INDIVIDUAL AMBITION V. SOCIAL SYMPATHIES

In my last letter I described the end of education to be to render man conscientiously active in the service of his Maker; to render him useful, by rendering him indepen-

dent with relation to society ; and, as an individual, to render him happy within himself.

To this end I conceive that the formation of the intellect, the attainment of useful knowledge and the development of all the faculties, may be made instrumental. But though they will be found highly serviceable as furnishing the means, they will not supply the spring of action. It would be preposterous, no doubt, to provide for the facilities of execution, without exciting the motives of a certain plan or line of conduct.

AMBITION AS SPRING OF ACTION.

Of this fault, the process which frequently goes by the name of education, and which might more appropriately be denominated a mechanical training, is often guilty. The common motive by which such a system acts on those over whose indolence it has conquered is *fear* ; the very highest to which it can aspire, in those whose sensibility is excited, is *ambition*.

It is obvious that such a system can calculate only on the lower selfishness of man. To that least amiable or estimable part of the human character it is, and always has been, indebted for its best success. Upon the better feelings of man it turns a deaf ear.

How is it, then, that motives leading to a course of action which is looked upon as mean and despicable, or at best as doubtful, when it occurs in life—how is it that motives of that description are thought honourable in education? Why should that bias be given to the mind in a school, which, to gain the respect or the affection of others, an individual must first of all strive to unlearn—a bias to which every candid mind is a stranger?

I do not wish to speak harshly of ambition, or to reject it altogether as a motive. There is, to be sure, a noble ambition—dignified by its object, and distinguished by a deep and transcendent interest in that object. But if we consider the sort of ambition commonly proposed to the schoolboy—if we analyze “what stuff ‘tis made of, whereof it is born”—we shall find that it has nothing to

do with the interest taken in the object of study ; that such an interest frequently does not exist ; and that, owing to its being blended with that vilest and meanest of motives, with *fear*, it is by no means raised by the wish to give pleasure to those "who propose it ; for a teacher who proceeds on a system in which fear and ambition are the principal agents must give up his claim to the esteem or affection of his pupils.

Motives like fear or inordinate ambition may stimulate to exertion, intellectual or physical, but they cannot warm the heart. There is not in them that life which makes the heart of youth to heave with the delight of knowledge—with the honest consciousness of talent—with the honourable wish for distinction—with the kindly glow of genuine feeling. Such motives are inadequate in their source and inefficient in their application, for they are nothing to the heart, and "out of the heart are the issues of life."/

SYMPATHY AS COUNTER-WEIGHT.

On these grounds it is that, in moral as well as the intellectual education, I have urged the suprême character of the motive of sympathy as the one that should early, and indeed principally, be employed in the management of children. On these grounds I have repeatedly urged the propriety of attending to that feeling, which I have no hesitation in declaring to be the first feeling of a higher nature that is alive in the child—the feeling, in the infant, of love and confidence in the mother. Upon this feeling I wish to ground the first foundation, and on a feeling analogous to it, and springing from it, I wish to guide the future steps of education. That in the infant that feeling exists there can be no doubt. We have for it the testimony of those who are most competent to judge, because best enabled to sympathize with it—of the mothers.

To the mothers, therefore, I would again and again address the request, to let themselves be governed by their

maternal feelings, enlightened by thought, in guiding those rising impressions, in developing that tender germ, in the infant's heart. They will find that at first it is yet involved in the animal nature of the infant ; that it is an innate feeling, strong because not yet under the control of reason, and filling the whole mind because not yet opposed by the impulse of conflicting passions. That feeling, let them believe, has been implanted by the Creator. But together with it there exists in the infant that instinctive impulse of its animal nature, which is first made subservient to self-preservation, and directed towards the satisfaction of natural and necessary wants ; which is next bent on gratification ; which, unless it be checked in time, runs out into a thousand imaginary and artificial wants ; which would hurry us from enjoyment to enjoyment, and which would end in consummate selfishness.

To control and to break this selfish impulse, the best, the only, course is for the mother to strengthen daily that better impulse, which so soon gives her the pledge, by the first smile on the lips, the first glance of affection in the eye of the infant, that, though the powers of the intellect are yet slumbering, she may soon speak a language intelligible to the *heart*. She will be enabled, by affection and by firmness, to bring her child to give up those cravings which render it so unamiable, and to give them up for her, the mother's, sake. By what means she can make herself understood—how she can supply the want of words and of precepts—I shall not undertake to answer for her ; but let a mother answer, whether, conscious as she is of her own love for her child—a love enhanced by a feeling of duty, and enlightened by reflection—she will not, without either words or precepts, be able to find the way to the heart and the affection of her infant.

But if the mother has succeeded in this, let her not fancy that she has done everything. The time will come when the hitherto speechless emotions of the infant will find a language—when his eye will wander from the

mother to other individuals within the sphere that surrounds him—and when that sphere itself will be extended. His affections must then no longer rest concentrated in one object, and that object, though the dearest and kindest of mortals, yet a mortal, and liable to those imperfections which "our flesh is heir to." The affections of the child are claimed by higher objects—and, indeed, by the highest.

HOW CHILD IS LED TO GOD THROUGH MATERNAL LOVE.

Maternal love is the first agent in education; but maternal love, though the purest of human feelings, is human; and salvation is not of the power of man, but of the power of God. Let not the mother fancy that she of her own power, and with her best intentions, can raise the child's heart and mind beyond the sphere of earthly and perishable things. It is not for her to presume that her instructions or her example will benefit the child, unless they be calculated to lead the child to that faith, and to that love, from which alone salvation springs.

The love and confidence of the infant in the mother is but the adumbration of a purer, of the purest and highest feeling which can take up its abode in a mortal breast—of a feeling of love and faith, now no more confined to an individual, now no more mixed with "baser matter," but rising superior to all other emotions, and *elevating* man by teaching him *humility*—the feeling of love and faith in his Creator and his Redeemer.

In this spirit let education be considered in all its stages; let the physical faculties be developed, but without forgetting that they form the lower series of human nature; let the intellect be enlightened, but let it be remembered that the first science which thought and knowledge should teach is modesty and moderation; let the discipline be regulated and the heart be formed, not by coercion, but by sympathy—not by precept, but by practice; and, above all, let it be prepared for that influence from above which alone can restore the image of God in man.

VI.—“THE SWANSONG”

[WHAT commonly passes under this name is in reality two separate books. The first part—about two-thirds of the whole—is the most careful statement of Pestalozzi's educational doctrine that we have. The Lenzburg Address is a scientifically more perfect production, but it is very largely due to Pestalozzi's philosophical colleague, Niederer. In the Swansong we have the master himself, with all his peculiar weaknesses alongside his strength. It was written in the period between 1811 and 1813, and intended for publication under the title of Education according to Nature. Circumstances prevented its publication until 1826; when it was issued in connection with a review of his life's activities, intended as a message from “the sick Pestalozzi to the healthy public.”]

The translation which follows has been a good deal condensed, especially in the later sections, where Pestalozzi repeats many of his earlier statements in new contexts.]

Examine everything, hold to that which is good ; and if you conceive anything better, let it in truth and love be a further contribution to that which I in truth and love have endeavoured to give you in these pages.

EDUCATION MEANS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WHOLE MAN.

1. The problem of the Elementary Method, upon which, more or less conscious of its full magnitude, I have spent the greater part of my later life in endeavouring to solve, is nothing other than the problem of how to conform to the order of Nature in the cultivation of man's capacities and powers.

2. If we are to know what this involves, we must first find out what is meant by human nature. What is its intrinsic essence, and what are its distinguishing features? Clearly, the capacities and powers which we share with other animals cannot be the essential things. On the contrary, must not these essentials be the aggregate of those capacities and powers in the possession of which men differ from other animals? It is not my corruptible body nor my sensory appetites, but my moral and religious capacities, my intellectual capacities, and my practical capacities, which constitute the humanity in me.

It follows that the problem of the Elementary Method is the problem of following the order of Nature in the unfolding and developing of these specifically human powers of head, heart, and hand.

Conformity to Nature implies the constant subordination of our animal nature to higher and characteristically human claims (Divine as these are in their essential nature)—that is, in brief, the subordination of body to mind.

It follows, further, that every attempt to assist by artifice this developing process presupposes a lively and more or less clear sense of the course which Nature herself takes.

Now, this course is determined by eternal laws which are inherent in the constitution of each separate capacity, within which they are bound up with an inextinguishable force that favours development. When the occasion arises, this force drives us forward. What is felt to be within our reach, that we will; it could not be otherwise, such is the strength of this latent disposition.

3. The feeling "I can" as a condition of progress is a law of our being, but the specific form of the law varies with the characteristics of each capacity to which it relates. In spite of this variety of form, their unity is never lost by reason of the unity from which they emanate—the unity of human nature. It is only when their harmony is maintained that they are in conformity with human nature. Conversely, only that which affects man as an indissoluble unit is educative in our sense of that word. It must reach his hand and his heart as well as

his head. No partial approach can be satisfactory. To consider any one capacity exclusively (head or heart or hand) is to undermine and destroy man's native equilibrium. It means unnatural methods of training, and produces partial human products. It is as wrong to think only of morality and religion as it is to have the intellect solely in mind.

4. Specialized development of one side of human nature is unnatural and false. It is as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal, a hollow unreality. Education worth the name necessarily strives after the perfection of man's powers in their completeness.

The unity of human faculties is a Divine and permanent gift to the race. Respect for that unity is an essential condition of successful education. "What God has joined let no man put asunder." Whoever disregards this principle in the practice of education, in any way whatever, makes but half-men of us, in whom no satisfaction can be sought or found.

5. Men whose development is thus specialized are a prey to self-deception. They do not know their own weaknesses and deficiencies.

They are severely handled by those who have been educated in a different way. Want of balance, whether it is due to excessive emotional or to excessive intellectual development, brings ultimate discomfiture.

Domestic and civic welfare depend, however, upon spiritual factors, without which the practical qualities which are wanted in domestic and civic life are dangerously illusory. They occasion every sort of discontent, and produce injured feelings, grievances, and variance of all kinds.

DEVELOPMENT OF EACH OF OUR POWERS COMES FROM ITS SPECIFIC EXERCISE.

6. The equilibrium of the capacities, which is the keynote of our idea of an Elementary Method, demands the full development of all man's fundamental powers. The

natural process in each case takes place in accordance with unchanging law, opposition to which means artificial interference with Nature. The laws governing development differ for each capacity. Intellectual development takes a different course from that in which the emotional life is purified and made effective, and both differ, again, from the principles which govern the development of our physical powers.

7. In each case the evolution of capacity depends on exercise. Morality, love, and faith, develop only through putting these virtues into practice. Intellectual capacity only comes through thinking, and practical and professional power comes from using our senses and our limbs in a natural way.

8. The stimulus to exercise varies with the power in question. The eye is disposed to see, the ear to listen, the foot to walk, and the hand to grasp. Just in the same way the heart is disposed to believe and love, the intellect to think. Whatever capacity man has within him is associated with a disposition to activity ; the disposition tends to realize itself, and to develop through activity into trained capacity.

9. A fall will check a child's desire to walk ; his confidence is checked when the cat meets his blandishments with scratches, and when the puppy meets them with a snarl. Similarly, his desire to learn is cooled when his teacher adopts unattractive methods which confuse and stupefy him instead of rousing his interests.

NATURE v. NURTURE IN DEVELOPMENT.

The course of Nature, when left to herself, in the development of human capacities is a slow progress from the prison-house of his sensuous nature. If it is to be raised to an effort to develop the human in man, two things must be taken for granted—viz., the help of intelligent love, the germ of which belongs to our idea of the family, in spite of its sensory limitations ; and the intelligent use of such skill as long experience has given to man.

10. We see, then, that the idea of the Elementary Method simply comes from the efforts of man to supplement the course of Nature in developing and cultivating our dispositions and capacities by such assistance as clear-sighted love, cultivated intelligence, and practical insight, can give.

Although the course of Nature in the development of man is laid down by God, nevertheless, when children are left entirely to themselves, only his primitive instincts are awakened, whereas it is man's object—it is the aim of the Elementary Method, it is the aim of the wise and god-fearing—to call the human and Divine elements into life.

11. Let us examine the question more closely from the standpoint of (A) morality, (B) intelligence, and (C) practical everyday life.

A. NURTURE AS SOURCE OF MORALITY.

Let us ask ourselves, How do the bases of our moral life, faith and love, actually develop in the human race, and how do the first germs of our moral and religious dispositions become active ? How do they get nourishment and increase in strength under man's fostering care, and at the same time preserve their human characteristics as Nature herself designed them ? It all comes from the quiet and steady satisfaction of the child's physical requirements ; this is the natural condition under which the germs of the child's future morality are quickened into life. The instinctive watchfulness of maternal love secures this condition ; the neglect of it speedily disturbs the physical well-being of the infant.

12. It is therefore of the utmost importance for education that peaceful quiet and content should be secured to the infant, and that we should recognize this as the method of calling into life the still dormant feelings which distinguish man from other creatures. Every disturbance of the infant's vegetative life tends to quicken and strengthen his primitive sensuous nature, and to hinder the natural development of the dispositions and faculties which are peculiar to mankind.

13. The first and most potent means to this end is provided by Nature in the heart of the mother. Maternal power, maternal devotion, are universal. To be lacking in these qualities reveals an unnatural mother: it represents an abnormal degeneration of the mother's heart. Without the mother, the father's helpful presence and the quickening forces of family life are of little avail. It is the faithful mother who makes these things tell, and just as solicitude for the child's repose in early infancy is generally thought of only as a sign of the mother's devotion, so we think of it as necessary to the natural development of the child's moral forces. Human qualities only unfold in repose. Without repose love is no longer a source of truth and blessedness. Unrest itself springs from physical suffering or from unfulfilled desires, from improper needs or from worse selfishness. In all cases it generates lovelessness, mistrust, and all that springs therefrom.

14. Repose, then, is a first necessity of infant life: babies must be protected from all sources of organic derangement. Such disturbance may come either from inattention to physical needs or from over-indulgence, which encourages uncontrolled selfishness.

When the mother frequently, but irregularly, neglects the crying infant, even letting him wait so long that his discomfort becomes real suffering, the canker of dissatisfaction, with all its evil consequences, is set up in the child. Such tardy attention is not the natural way of quickening love and confidence in the child. Instead, the mother is sowing the seeds of his future demoralization. Such infantile unrest generates a sense of outrage in the physical side of his nature; tendencies to brute violence are awakened, and the start is given to that widespread spirit of immorality and irreligion which blackens and vilifies the Divine elements in man.

15. A neglected child, torn by its sufferings, throws itself like a hungry and thirsty animal upon its mother's breast, instead of seeking it in a gentle, human way, and finding pleasure in the moderate satisfaction of its wants.

When the tender hand and the smiling face of the mother are wanting, one misses, too, the smile and the charm which are so natural to healthy and happy infancy. We miss the first sign of awakening humanity in the restless child, and find instead every indication of dissatisfaction and mistrust. Feelings of love and trustfulness are not developed, and the whole course of the child's development is endangered.

16. Over-indulgence is no less disturbing. The rich fool of whatever rank who spoils her child establishes within him improper desires, and undermines his powers of satisfying his needs by his own efforts. He becomes a source of constantly increasing dissatisfaction, disappointment, and violence.

17. True motherly solicitude for the awakening humanity in her child confines its attention to the satisfaction of its essential wants. The intelligent and thoughtful mother follows the dictates of her love, instead of becoming subservient to the child's caprices and physical selfishness. Her solicitude for the child's repose does not incite his sensuous appetites, but simply satisfies his physical necessities. Although maternal care is instinctive, it should harmonize with what her intellect and her heart would tell her; it is, in fact, a product of all three. It is only called into life by instinct, and is not, therefore, a sign of the subjection of her nobler dispositions to organic demands. Organic dispositions simply co-operate in an effort to achieve what her intellect and her heart desire.

18. Thus the mother's influence is the natural way of arousing the beginnings of love and faith. At the same time it prepares the ground for the impressions, fraught with happiness, which father and brothers and sisters make upon him. The feelings of love and trustfulness are extended to the whole circle of domestic life. The child's sensory attachment to, and confidence in, his mother rises to the level of true human love and human faith. It reaches first to the father, brothers, and sisters, but the circle is constantly extended. Whom the mother

loves, the child loves also ; whom the mother trusts, he trusts. Even when the mother says of some stranger, whom he sees for the first time, " He loves you ; you must trust him ; he is a good man : give him your hand," the child smiles and gladly proffers the hand of innocence. Again, if the mother says to him, " You have a grandfather in distant lands who loves you," the child believes her. He likes to speak to his mother of the grandfather, believes in his love and hopes for his inheritance. Just in the same way, when the mother says, " I have a Father in heaven from whom all the good things come that you and I possess," the child believes his mother's words and trusts in this Heavenly Father. And when she, as a Christian, prays to Him, when she reads the message of God's love in the Bible, and is quickened by its spirit, the child likes to pray with her ; he also believes in the word of Him whose spirit he has already learned to recognize in his mother's own doings. In this way the child's simple love for his mother is naturally extended to the love of his fellows, and from this to the ideal faith and love of the true Christian.

This is the process by which the Elementary Method as we conceive it attempts to develop the moral and religious life of the child from its cradle onwards.

B. NATURE *v.* NURTURE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTELLECTUAL POWER.

19. I pass to the next question.

How does man's intellectual life begin ? What are the starting-points of his powers of thought, of investigation and judgment, when Nature has its way ?

We find that our powers of thought begin in the impressions which objects make upon us. Sensory contact with objects awakens their inherent readiness to develop of themselves.

20. Quickened by the impulse to development which it has awakened, this experience leads first of all to the consciousness of the impression which objects have made

upon us, and subsequently to their recognition. Then we feel the need of giving expression to the impressions which these experiences have made upon us. At first this takes the form of gesture and imitation, and then we are brought face to face with the more characteristically human need of language, the development of which renders gesture and imitation superfluous.

Nature in the Development of Language.

21. The power of speech, which is essential to the development of the powers of thought, is a human device for making the knowledge gained by experience, of universal service. From the beginning, it develops only in close connection with the growth and extension of human knowledge ; this always takes precedence. The natural use of speech is concerned only with the things we have learned and the way we have learned them. What we have learned superficially we speak of in a superficial way. What we have learned wrongly we talk of incorrectly.

22. The natural way of acquiring the mother tongue and all other languages is associated with the acquisition of knowledge through experience, and the process of learning must follow the natural order in which the impressions of experience pass over into knowledge. If we apply this point of view to the question of the mother tongue, we find that as everything distinctively human only differentiates itself slowly from the lower elements of our nature from which it evolves, so also do our linguistic powers develop by slow degrees. The infant cannot speak until its organs of speech are formed. Moreover, it knows nothing at first, and cannot therefore desire to speak. Its desires and its capacity develop in proportion to the knowledge which it gradually acquires through experience. This is Nature's only way of teaching the infant how to speak, and all artificial aid must be directed along the same slow course, seeking to further it by making use of stimuli which the objects in the environment and the various sounds and tones of the human voice afford.

Nurture in the Development of Language.

In order to teach the child to speak, the mother must work in line with his nature, and utilize all the stimuli to which ear, eye, and hand, are sensitive. When he is conscious of seeing, hearing, feeling, smelling, and tasting, he wants expressions for these impressions—i.e., the desire to learn to speak of them and the power to do so grows in him. The mother must also employ the stimulus of sounds for this purpose. If she is anxious to teach the child to talk in a short time, she must repeat sounds now loudly, now softly, now singing, now laughing, and so on, with ever lively variety.

Her aim should be to make him want to imitate her. In the same way she must see that the impressions of the objects whose names she wants the child to remember accompany the words. She must bring these objects to his notice in their most important bearings and in the most diverse and entertaining relations, and must keep them there. She must only advance in the exercise of expression to the point at which impressions have been matured in the child. Skill, or rather the constant devotion of an intelligent mother, can hasten and enliven the slowness of this natural method of acquiring language, and it is the duty of the Elementary Method to find out how this hastening and enlivening may take place, with a view to providing the mother with precise and suitably ordered exercises. If this is done, the mother's heart will assuredly be found ready to make full use of them.

23. Nature's order in the acquisition of any other language is not so slow. (1) The child's organs of speech are fully developed in such circumstances. There are only a few new sounds to be mastered. In other respects his organs are quite efficient. (2) A child who is beginning another language has somehow through experience acquired a large variety of information which he expresses in his mother tongue with the utmost precision. Consequently the acquisition of each new language entails nothing but learning to exchange the familiar and mean-

ingful sounds of his own tongue for sounds with which he is unfamiliar. How to simplify this exchange by making use of mechanical methods, and by the preparation of exercises arranged in a psychological order, designed to elucidate ideas, the verbal equivalents for which have been already learned by these simple mechanical devices, is one of the most important problems awaiting solution at our hands.

Everybody feels the need of a psychological basis for the rudiments of language teaching, and I believe that in the continuous attempts which I have made during the last fifty years to simplify education in its initial stages I have arrived at some natural and effective methods of achieving this object.

Higher Intellectual Training—

24. But, in order not to lose the thread of the exposition of my ideas concerning the Elementary Method, I will return to the argument that intellectual education, which always starts in experience, must be helped first of all by a natural system of language teaching. This help, if it is to serve in elucidating knowledge, must also be based on direct experience. Intellectual training, however, demands, by reason of its nature, treatment which will carry us still farther. We must provide assistance in the development of its powers of grouping, separating, and comparing objects which have been clearly apprehended by the senses. In this way we shall help the mind to rise to the power of correct judgment concerning the objects themselves and their properties—that is to say, to actual thought powers.

25. Intellectual training, and the race culture which depends upon it, demand continual search after devices designed to help forward the natural development of our powers of thought, of investigation, and of judgment, to the conscious possession of which mankind attained thousands of years ago. These devices, both in their nature and in their scope, are dependent on our power

of grouping, separating, and comparing, on our own initiative, the objects which have been clearly apprehended by our senses—in other words, on our power of logical investigation and on the possibility of our rising in this way to the level of the trained judgment.

given by Number, Form, and Language Teaching.

26. These devices whereby it is hoped our capacity for thought will be realized in the man of cultivated judgment demand inquiry. The problem of their nature and their perfection constitutes another important concern of the theory of the Elementary Method. And since the logical investigation of objects which have been clearly apprehended in experience manifestly finds its first natural stimulus in the use we make of our acquired powers of numbering and measuring, it follows that the best method of achieving power in that regard will be found in simplified exercises in number and form. We see, too, why the theory of the Elementary Method regards simple psychological treatment of number and form, together with a similar treatment of language, as the most general and the most effective means for the education of our thought capacities, which is at the same time in conformity with Nature.

27. At Burgdorf our first experimental attempts to apply these principles of simplified number and form teaching met with strikingly uniform success. It is, however, still more remarkable how later successes (in spite of the narrowness of our tentative Burgdorf procedure and of the apathy of later days) made it possible for my school to live until now. (It had been so long in a state of decay; for many years it was struggling against open rebellion, and in the end it was brought to the very verge of destruction.) Even now, although our external resources have sunk almost to zero, we have erected an institution for men and women teachers. This evidence of vitality makes me still hopeful of the future.

C. NATURE v. NURTURE IN DEVELOPMENT OF PRACTICAL CAPACITY.**1. *Intellectual and Moral Factors.***

28. Thirdly, in answer to the question, "How does practical capacity begin to unfold?" (the power, that is to say, of giving expression to the products of the intellect and of putting into action the impulses of the heart, the power which makes it possible to fulfil the duties of domestic and civic life), we see at once that it rests on a foundation of twofold character, an inner and an outer, an intellectual and a physical. It is also obvious that the secret of the training of practical and professional capacity lies in training intellectual capacity, in cultivating the power of thought and judgment, which in its turn depends upon methodical training in the use of the senses. We must admit that he who has had a good—that is, a natural—and liberal grounding in arithmetic, in mensuration, and in the drawing which they involve, has within him the requisite bases of practical capacity and technical skill. It only remains for him to cultivate systematically within the limits of his theoretical acquirements the external use of his senses and limbs, giving special attention to the particular dexterities required for the craft which he wishes to learn. Just as simplified exercises in number and form must, from their nature, be regarded as the special intellectual gymnastic of practical capacity, so, again, the mechanical exercise of the senses and of the limbs, which is necessary in training external technique, must be recognized as the physical gymnastic of practical capacity.

29. The Elementary training of practical capacity (of which vocational capacity must be regarded as a particular application suited to individual position and circumstances) thus rests upon two foundations, and the natural methods of training it consist in the stimulation and training of two fundamentally different capacities, the intellectual and the physical. Such methods are, however, only truly educational when they are at the same time part and parcel of the general training of the three sides of human culture.

2. Physical Factors.

30. I have already dealt with the moral and intellectual elements in practical training ; it remains to deal with the physical side. As the disposition to develop is the chief source of power in the development of our moral and intellectual capacities, so the necessary stimulus to the natural training of practical capacity on its physical side is to be found in a like disposition which is also characteristic of our senses and of our limbs. Naturally disposed to activity, the oncoming of intellectual and physical stimuli makes the realization of that disposition a practical certainty. The teacher's art has really little to do with this disposition. The physical impulse to put senses and limbs to use belongs to our primitive nature. The teacher's aim will be to make this primitive impulse conform to the moral and intellectual principles which guide him, in which he is assisted and encouraged by environmental forces and by the influences of home life,

The wise and careful use of the educational resources of domestic life is just as important in physical advancement as in moral and intellectual. These resources vary with the position and circumstances of the home, but, though available resources differ greatly, the use we make of them—physical, moral, and intellectual—is subjected to unchangeable laws, and is therefore itself unchanging. To illustrate from our methods of art education : we teach the child first to recognize the accuracy of each artistic form ; then he learns to reproduce it. After practising in this way, he tries to gain facility and delicacy in representing other forms, and when he can do this he is ready for freedom and independence in his work.

That is Nature's typical procedure in the practical education of our race. In her hands the child practises a graded series of exercises designed to bring him up to a certain standard of correctness (of form), of power (in reproducing), and of delicacy (in representing), and the results of these several exercises harmonize and blend

among themselves to give him the technique without which a man's craft can never be ennobling in its influence upon him, nor will he in all sincerity seek perfection in it.

31. The natural order of development of the mechanical¹ bases of practical capacity agrees perfectly with Nature's order in the development of its inner, intellectual bases, and thus fixes for us the natural way of coming into harmony with the fundamental methods employed in training mind and heart. The education of all three sides of our nature proceeds on common lines in equal measure, as is necessary if the unity of our nature and the equilibrium of its powers are to be recognized from the outset.

EQUILIBRIUM AND HARMONY OF OUR POWERS.

32. I will now look more closely into that important witness to the unity of man's nature—namely, the equilibrium of his moral, intellectual, and physical capacities, or, in other words, the equilibrium of the capacities of heart, head, and hand. Although the effect of dominance in one direction is accomplished at the expense of all the good that comes from their proper co-ordination (and from that alone), it is nevertheless the fact that undue emotional and religious development of a superficial kind, along with weakness and confusion on the intellectual and practical side, may be associated in a loving soul with an earnest seeking after Divine and human sources of strength. But when a man's balance of mind has been lost in this way, in spite of his well-meant efforts to make up for intellectual deficiencies, and in spite of a weak and superficial search after knowledge of the truth, he only sinks still more into dreamy speculation, and becomes almost incapable of recognizing truth and justice and of fulfilling the duties which depend upon such recognition.

However honest his heart may have been, the violence

¹ If the student will read "habit" for "mechanical," he will have a clearer idea of Pestalozzi's meaning

of his efforts to attain what he must misunderstand, and even despise, because of the paltriness and deceit associated with the circumstances of its attainment, must weaken the Divine purity of his own love, and leave him deplorably divided against himself, and, from man's point of view, incurably impotent. Yet he is not beyond the power of God. He who seeks His aid, and, under His direction, that of man also, is not beyond the power of restoration. He can never lose recuperative capacity to the same extent as those who, in spite of their shortcomings in essential matters, lack the holy impulse to seek new strength in their faith in God and in their love for their fellow-men. The low pleasure we take in the external results of special capacity, intellectual or practical or vocational, tends to prevent our feeling the absence of love and faith in ourselves ; and, not realizing the want, there is no effort to make up, and so to restore, the balance of our nature. This takes place in such a way that its reparation, from a human point of view, is almost impossible. It leads in extreme cases to a condition of callousness which is inconceivable in the futile blunderings of the most unintelligent love or the most inactive faith.

33. Piety, faith, and love, with all their weakness and all their error, make for restful adjustment. Intellectual, practical, or professional power without faith and love is an inexhaustible source of unrest, which vitally affects the natural development of human capacity.

ESPRIT DE CORPS.

34. However, it is certain that the callousness which completely paralyzes sincere effort to improve (that callousness to which pride in our intellectual and physical capacities leads so easily and in such divers ways) is not engendered so readily in pious and loving natures, or in those who are intellectually or physically weak. But this only holds good of individuals as such. As soon as men are associated in groups they lose that sense of individual weakness which is the essential foundation

of true love and faith, and so necessary to sincere effort towards improvement. *En masse* their lower instincts lead them to feel individually and socially stronger than they really are. The sense of individual weakness in conflict with the stirring sense of their power and their rights as a body produces in them a tendency to hypocritical self-deception. They grow proud of their collective power, and passionately unfriendly and insincere towards all those whose opinions and judgments do not coincide with those of the body to which they belong. In this way individual power and the sober religious idea of self-improvement are not only weakened, but actually tend to generate in them rude feelings of arrogant presumption and harsh ideas of violence, such as belong to the callous worldling who has lost all idea of ever being better and stronger than he is. *Esprit de corps*, in the religious as well as in the civic sense, is not a spiritual product. It is a fleshly thing, which produces the same results as one-sided intellectual or physical education. Our theory of elementary education has thus an important bearing on the question of maintaining equilibrium in the education of man's powers.¹

OF TEACHING METHODS IN GENERAL.

35. I will now proceed to consider what the theory of the Elementary Method has to say with respect to educational appliances. Conformity to Nature generally demands the greatest simplification of these appliances, and all my pedagogical work has been based upon this idea. At first, my purpose was confined to an effort to effect the greatest possible simplification of them, with the object of making the practice of the school more like that of the home. This idea naturally led me to try to organize sequences of educational exercises, which in all branches of human learning and activity should start with the very simplest, and proceed in continuous and unbroken gradation from easy to more difficult, keeping

¹ Cf. *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*, p. 137.

step with the growth of the pupil's powers, taking their cue from him, always stimulating him, never causing him weariness or exhaustion. The possibility of a straightforward psychological achievement of this idea depends on the recognition of the difference between the method of unfolding man's fundamental capacities, which follow certain unchangeable laws, and the methods adopted in teaching special branches of knowledge and special dexterities in which those powers are applied.

These last differ from each other as completely as the objects which we strive to know and put to use, and as completely as the position and circumstances of the individuals concerned differ. The Elementary Method proposes to avoid confusion by giving the first place to the methods of developing capacity. These are constant. We cannot, of course, put powers to practical use until they are developed. It does this admirably, inasmuch as in the whole series of exercises for developing and applying our powers it seeks to perfect each step before a forward move is made. In this way it produces in the pupil, both by the exercises for developing his powers and those for applying them, a conscious effort towards perfection, which is not only calculated to bring into closest agreement the method of developing the capacities with that of training in their application, but is also likely to make high standards of work habitual.

IS OUR IDEAL A CHIMERA ?

36. For the moment I shall leave the various consequences of this point of view. Before going further I will consider the question, Is not this our theory of an Elementary Method a mere dream? Does it give the groundwork of anything that is really practicable? I am often cogently asked, Where can one really find an example of its working? My answer is, Everywhere and nowhere! There are solitary illustrations of its feasibility everywhere, but you will find it in perfection nowhere. It has never been tried with a completely organized equip-

ment. No elementary school or institution exists which corresponds to our ideal in all its details.

But man's knowledge and capacity grows in piecemeal fashion in all its branches ; even what is highest and best in our culture has been arrived at in this way. Educational progress is similarly piecemeal. Man goes now forwards, now backwards. No condition occurs, or can occur, which entirely meets our demands. There are unconquerable obstacles in human nature itself which prevent its being carried out on a scale of completeness. Characteristically human weaknesses of intellect and of heart, the inner, Divine nature of which chafes beneath the mantle of our corruptible body, does not suffer us to attain absolute perfection at any point. Even the most able of men, in all his endeavours to perfect himself in this or that way, must say with Paul, " Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect, but I follow after, if so be that I may attain."¹ If this is true of individuals, it is infinitely more true of all collective strivings after culture.

No institution, even it receive both material and spiritual help and encouragement on a royal scale, can succeed in making the theory of the Elementary Method a perfect practical method for the training and instruction of all types of children. I repeat that human nature is constitutionally opposed to the introduction of this lofty theory all at once in its universal and perfect form. All our knowledge and all our skill is partial, and will remain so until the end of time. Our progress in knowledge and skill, even the advance in our ideals (inasmuch as these are determined by the limited progress of individual men and individual communities), must be halting and incomplete, leading us at times to place obstacles in the way of those who are actually contributing to the improvement of the existing state of things.

87. We must say it without reservation : a method of education and instruction corresponding completely to our idea of an Elementary Method is not conceivable in practice.

¹ Phil. iii. 12.

Into whatever prominence you bring its principles, however much you simplify its measures, however clearly you show the theoretical consistency of its practice, external consistency is inconceivable ; every individual man will carry out its measures differently in accordance with his own individuality. In one case a man's impulse to put the theory into practice will come from his heart ; he throws himself into the task with all the ardour of his love. Another's power is intellectual ; he seeks to achieve his object through the clearness and accuracy of his ideas concerning it. Again, another will seek to achieve it through the practical and professional capacities with which he is specially endowed. It is well that it is so. There is genius of heart, genius of head, and genius of hand. God has created them. Some men are endowed in particular directions disproportionately beyond their fellows. They are the "millionaires" of those inner sources of moral, intellectual, and physical capacity, but, in the depths of their triune nature, they are animated by individual egoism in no way different from that which moves the "millionaires" of finance and power who live in our midst. Like the millionaires, the variety of the demands which their special gifts occasion, produces a whole series of dependents who are actually interested in maintaining the predominance of a particular craft, or a particular point of view, and set themselves in opposition to others who have also special but different interests. It follows that the general equilibrium is not disturbed, but that the patchwork type of progress which is characteristically human is kept up. It is necessary to recognize this as the natural method of progress in knowledge and in power, and as bound up with the reality of human welfare.

38. So long as we do not realize this, we must regard the theory of the Elementary Method as a delusion, and consider it impossible to put it into practice in its entirety. But as soon as we recognize that its aims are those of human culture in general, and accept as natural the piecemeal advance of knowledge, with the consequent hindrances

to progress, then we are admittedly in line with the final purpose of humanity, and we think no more of the discredited idea that we are deluded folk who take pleasure in dreaming idly of the impracticable.

89. No! It is my duty to work towards an all-embracing human purpose, for that cannot be eternally impracticable; it must not be thought of as such. This is exactly the position we claim for our theory of the Elementary Method. Although such an aim can never reach inner perfection in the forms and figures of actual practice, nevertheless men who are uncorrupted and undisfigured by the culture of their day cannot help working towards it, and their efforts have effected such degree of attainment in morals, intellect, and physique, as the civilized world has achieved. Similarly, every principle of natural education, every sound method of instruction, is its work. I repeat that our ideal is everywhere in evidence, and yet nowhere. In its perfection it is nowhere; as partially expressed, as an object of effort, it is everywhere. To ignore it entirely is to ignore all that is Divine and eternal in man—the very essence of human nature, the only really human thing in us. Making the methods of education conform to Nature's laws (that is to say, the theory of the Elementary Method) is at bottom nothing but bringing them into harmony with the indestructible characteristics of that eternal spark of Divinity which is always in conflict with our lower sensuous nature.

To seek the satisfaction of sensory nature is characteristic of animal, as opposed to distinctively human, purpose. It follows, therefore, that the doctrines of the theory of elementary education, which springs from the life of the soul itself, are in constant conflict with the whole web of sensuous artifice and with the overpowering claims of the flesh. The general opinion of those who are giving attention to the problem of educating the people as a whole, rather than to the problem of the education of the individual, is not friendly to the consideration of its claims and of what its measures might accomplish. This is inevitable. The practical organization of national

education demands power, skill, and effort of a physical character, rather than moral and intellectual. But carnal desire of every sort must be in complete subjection to mind, and the spirit of the Elementary Method as we conceive it works towards the sincere recognition of the necessity of such subjection. When I consider how I have striven for the recognition of our ideals, I remember that there was very little sign of them in the elementary schools for the people. I worked with all my might for the simplification of the common forms of popular education as the most effective method of combating successfully current educational evils. But my lofty ideals were pre-eminently the product of a kind, well-meaning soul, inadequately endowed with the intellectual and practical capacity which might have helped considerably to further my heartfelt desire. It was the product of an extremely vivid imagination, which in the stress of my daily life proved unable to produce any important results. I was rather like a child who thinks himself in battle with powerful opponents, in support of his fanciful ideals. The more the child persists in his dreamy efforts, the more prolonged is his defeat. Under such conditions, I naturally could not produce anything more than suggestions, sometimes vivid and brilliant, but on the whole ineffective. As you would expect, however, a natural method of education, based on man's spiritual nature, generally does appeal to individuals, and that in proportion to their own spirituality.

40. Whilst the unnatural artificiality which springs from worldliness and self-seeking, the charms of sensuous pleasure, the force of imitation, and the powerful influence of the crowd, are poisonous in their influence on man's primitive nature, on the other hand a natural course of Elementary education, followed with sincerity of aim and with concentration of purpose, always exerts a powerful influence on man's spiritual nature. It makes him more susceptible to moral and intellectual stimuli by freeing him from self-consciousness. The methods of Elementary education, directed as they are to the im-

provement of the race, offer effective opposition to the attractions and to the consequences of artificiality in life. The wisdom of all the ages tells in unambiguous terms how great is the effect of conformity to nature when we are concerned to educate and quicken our powers. This is exactly what is claimed by the theory of the Elementary Method whenever it comes into contact with unspoiled human beings. But life should not be regarded from the visionary standpoint of complete perfection, but in full view rather of its fragmentary impulses and their exciting causes, each impulse being an effort towards an ever-approaching perfection.

41. I will now examine from the moral, intellectual, and physical points of view the results of our attempts to investigate the influence of Elementary educational methods on human culture, without losing sight of the fundamental principle, that *Life is the great educator.*

"ELEMENTARY" METHOD AND MORAL TRAINING.

42. (a) The theory of Elementary Method touches the moral life of the child in so far as it makes its whole procedure dependent on the instinctive feelings that attach to parenthood and family life.

It is indisputable that faith and love, which are the God-given foundations of all true morality and religion, begin and develop in the intercourse between parent and child. We cannot boast of having had experience in school with children from their cradles upwards, but our methods are nevertheless, in their moral aspect, applicable to early infancy ; indeed, they apply to the moral nature far earlier than it is possible for them to be used in their intellectual and practical aspects. The child loves and trusts before it thinks and acts, and the influence of home life stimulates it and raises it to the moral level, which is taken for granted in what we think and do ; and we can say—in spite of our lack of experience with infants—with the utmost conviction, that the simple procedure of Elementary Method which makes children of any age

capable of sharing what they know with other children about them, has preserved the moral force of the school, and produced there the feeling of brotherhood and sisterhood. We have at various epochs in our common life seen this mutual feeling of love and confidence produce results striking enough to convince onlookers that our way of working was a successful extension of the moral influences of home life, thereby bringing us nearer to a practical solution of a problem of urgent importance in our time.

"ELEMENTARY" METHOD AND INTELLECTUAL TRAINING.

43. (b) On the intellectual side, we accept the same fundamental principle, *Life educates*. Just as moral education begins in inner experiences—*i.e.*, in impressions which touch our feelings—so the education of the intellect results from the experience of objects which act as stimuli upon our senses. Nature brings the whole range of our sense-impressions to bear on life. All our knowledge of the outside world is the result of sensory experiences. Even our dreams come from that source. The common impulse towards development which our senses share with all our potential capacities, compels us to see, hear, smell, taste, feel, touch, walk, and so on; but our hearing, smelling, tasting, feeling, touching, walking, is only educative in so far as the eye is directed towards right seeing, the ear towards right hearing, and so on. This education in the right use of our faculties depends upon the impressions being properly matured which the objects concerned have made upon our senses. Wherever impressions have not perfectly matured, then we do not apprehend the object in its full sensory significance. We only partially apprehend it. The perception is not educative. It does not affect the educative possibilities of our nature as it might. The result does not satisfy our nature, and, to that extent, the procedure adopted has not been natural. Just as the instinctive feeling of parenthood forms a Divine centre for the natural development of moral

education, so must intellectual education proceed from a centre, which is capable of bringing to perfect maturity the immediate results of sensory experience. In this way only will it become educative and natural. Clearly such a centre can be found only in the round of domestic life which the child watches from morning to evening from the cradle upwards. It is indisputably the repeated experience amongst objects, their frequent and varied appearance, which brings his sense-impressions to maturity and perfection. Wherever there is home life this is true, and outside the home there is no place in which the objects appeal to the child's senses, from early infancy, so persistently, so uninterruptedly, so diversely, and in such a variously human way. No other impressions are so naturally educative as these.

LIFE EDUCATES.

It is here that one feels the need of distinguishing between human faculty and its development on the one hand, and the particular practical use to which capacity will be put on the other. Practical use will, of course, vary with family circumstances, but in every case it should be, as it were, automatically connected with the fundamental faculties which have been developed in the individual. These furnish the basis for the training of the practical faculties. And, since the methods of developing human faculty are in principle the same in all ranks and in all circumstances, whilst the methods of developing practical abilities are infinitely various, we must consider the principle, "Life educates," from two points of view. First, do the influences of life favour the natural development of faculty? And, second, do the situations of life teach the child in a natural way to make practical use of his faculties when they are developed? The answer is simple. Life develops human powers, even under the most diverse circumstances, in accordance with unchanging laws, which apply equally whether the child concerned crawls in the gutter or is heir to the throne.

As to the putting capacities to use, vital influences are always in perfect harmony with diversity of circumstance, rank, and condition, and equally in harmony with the peculiarities of the individual himself. This latter influence is therefore in its nature quite different from the former.

44. We may now see what lines our art will follow in stimulating the natural development of the sensory activities in infancy. Its business is to bring to the child's notice in a striking and commanding way the sensory objects of home life, and in this way to make them educative in the best sense of the word. The Elementary methods of training sensory experience are simply psychological devices for stimulating innate impulses to self-development. They represent an endeavour to make the sensory impressions of objects educative, by encouraging him to concentrate his attention upon them.

WORDS AND THINGS.

45. This method of training sense-experience also stimulates the development of the powers of speech, inasmuch as, when sensory impressions are really educative, they give rise to the need for expression.

46. The natural training of the faculty of speech is thus intrinsically and intimately related to the process of nature in the development of sensory activities, and the methods of the educator must be similarly related to each other.

The training of the faculty of speech is based upon life, as is the training of the senses. The principle, "Life teaches," is just as true and just as trenchant in the development of the one as in that of the other. Agreement of procedure can therefore only be really achieved by linking all our methods to the home life of the child and to the whole range of perceptual experience that belongs thereto.

Sensory impressions should, however, be distinctly apprehended before the child learns the arbitrary catch-words which express them.

47. Whenever we put empty words into a child's mind, and impress them upon his memory, as if they were real knowledge, or genuine means of acquiring it, even when neither his feelings nor his experience of things are in a position to furnish clues to their meaning, we are obviously deviating from the principle, "Life teaches." We are sowing the seeds of an artificial use of the Divine gift of speech. We are sowing the seeds of callous insincerity and shallowness to which is due so much of the blundering arrogance which is characteristic of our time.

The principle "Life teaches" in this connection lays it down that the faculty of speech is a means of putting to use the knowledge acquired through sensory experience. It begins of necessity with the naming of objects that come under notice, and advances to the changes which they undergo. The more extensive and definite our sensory acquaintance with objects and their qualities, the more extensive and definite are the natural foundations of the faculty of speech. Accordingly, the faculty of speech in every child depends upon the extent and accuracy of his sensory acquaintance with things, and if these are wanting, the teacher must first fill up the gaps.

48. The natural progress in learning his mother tongue, and the educational advantages thereof, are limited by his sensory acquaintance with the things about him. Just as the child requires many years to get clear ideas of the objects in his environment through varied contact with them, so it requires many years to bring him to the point of being able to express himself with accuracy about them. Moreover, natural progress in this direction depends on his being constantly and variously made to feel the need for greater accuracy. To extend and quicken his direct knowledge of things is the only true method of furthering, in a natural way, the acquisition of the mother tongue.

The outward manifestations of speech, the sounds themselves, unless intimately associated with the experiences which give them significance, are empty and idle. Only by the consciousness of this relation to experience do they

become true human sounds. The initial preparation that comes from the words which the child hears spoken is for a long time merely mechanical, but this mechanical preparation for learning to read should not be neglected by those who are concerned in his reading lessons. The words which the infant hears only become gradually educative for him. For a long time, like the clanging of bells, the thud of the hammer, like the calls of the animals, and all other sounds in Nature, they only make a sensory impression upon him. But this impression is important for speech training. The impression as such gradually becomes perfected with his hearing. As his hearing becomes perfect, the power of vocal imitation is slowly developed. The child learns now to utter a number of word-sounds, the meaning of which he does not know; but he is in that way prepared informally to grasp this meaning more easily, and to retain it more steadfastly, than he otherwise would be.

The Elementary Method, in cultivating the child's speech, limits itself to employing the impressions which Nature puts at random before the child's senses, but extends this natural process along definite lines adapted to his capacities and requirements.

This is inevitable. For just as it is essential for the training of the child's faculty of observation that the circle of observation objects in his surroundings should be comprehensive enough for the development of the knowledge that is necessary to him, but should not extend so far beyond his requirements as to distract and confuse him in essentials, so is it just as necessary that the linguistic range of the child, within the limits of which he is to learn to read, shall be comprehensive enough for the requirements of his position, but not so extensive as to confuse the relations which should exist between speech-power and the actualities of life. This point of view applies with equal force to all methods for developing and cultivating other human faculties.

Even the education of the poorest child, whose position and circumstances are the narrowest you can think of,

can never proceed too far on the lines of this natural Elementary method, if we are concerned for the genuine solidity of fundamentals. We cannot train him to be too kind, too intellectual, too active and industrious ; but in training him to put these powers to practical use, we must, from the moment we take him in hand, keep him within the limits corresponding to the demands of his actual life. It is on these lines that the practice of Elementary Method is able to preserve its principles in training the child to use his senses for the acquisition of knowledge, and in training him to talk.

Education, even in the first stages of the child's training, even in its efforts towards the development of the faculties of speech and sense, must never stand in the way of life's needs ; it must never aim to further knowledge of things or of words unsuited to the child's position in life, or likely to set up differences between home and school—two institutions which should always be in harmony. Education should never make the child discontented with, or unfitted for, his station ; it should never create discord between the child and his life.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT OF FACULTY AND TRAINING TO PUT FACULTY TO USE.

49. Such, then, is the importance of recognizing the difference between the conformity to Nature in cultivating human faculties and conformity to Nature in cultivating their practical application. The difference between the Elementary methods of developing our faculties and the Elementary methods of training our powers of putting them to use is closely related to the difference in the extent to which the devices for cultivating the faculties of language, observation, thought, and art must be applied in the various ranks of life. The close connection of this twofold difference shows how necessary it is that education in its initial steps should hold fast to the course of Nature, both in the methods of developing our faculties and in those for training our practical dexterities.

METHOD OF TEACHING FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

The peace of the world and the true welfare of all ranks is dependent on the recognition of this truth. The most sacred bonds of social life will be weakened from misconception in this matter, so far as it concerns domestic and public education. I will go farther. The "natural" method of acquiring any other language than the mother tongue involves, as I said before, the use of essentially different methods. They consist in the simplification of the process of changing the sounds of the mother tongue, the meaning of which is already familiar, into the sounds of another language which are not familiar.

If this process of transformation, from the psychological point of view, follows Nature, although absolutely different from the artificial and routine processes commonly employed, it will be found extremely easy. Experience shows that it depends on the following dictum : "Learning to speak is, *per se* (at least in the initial stages), not a question of intellectual training, but of listening to others, and trying to speak one's self." The knowledge of grammatical rules is merely a test as to whether the natural means of learning to speak and of listening thereto has achieved its object satisfactorily. Grammar is the end of a psychologically well-arranged method of learning to speak, not the beginning. But for a long time teachers have neglected to bring the general theory of speech to bear upon the problem of learning a foreign language. The more intellectual side of the work (*i.e.*, the study of grammar) must be postponed until the mechanical facility in speaking has been considerably advanced. Grammar rules will then make explicit what is already known implicitly. With regard to living languages, this is sometimes admitted—it should *always* be so—but it is absolutely denied with reference to the dead languages, and as proof of the position we are told that instruction in the dead languages, in spite of the alleged deficiencies of the routine methods of teaching the rudiments, has achieved in our days astoundingly good results, and that

in its more advanced stages it has followed lines that psychologists would approve. However that may be, it is still true that the more elementary stages of instruction in the ancient languages cannot be considered satisfactory, whether from the psychological or from the more mechanical point of view. The admirable work in the higher stages has no proper psychologically or mechanically graded foundation. I am so sure of this that I venture to urge that the present routine process in learning the rudiments of the ancient languages is contrary to Nature. I know quite well how these words will be resented, coming as they do from one who does not know the ancient languages, and has no experience of the advantages which the method of teaching them claims.

But while, on the one hand, I recognize my incapacity to judge the more advanced instruction, and willingly concede everything which follows from this, on the other hand I hold that this very ignorance of the routine processes of language teaching has helped me to simplify the methods, by bringing them into psychological harmony with the course of Nature, and making it at once effective and fruitful. My ignorance, I say, has helped me in one way to investigate more fully the simplicity of this process of Nature in the acquisition of dead languages, and the psychological and mechanical bases of the process, than would have been possible for me if I had learnt the ancient and modern languages perfectly in the best of their routine forms.

50. I saw very soon that the methods of intellectual education which are based on the simplified teaching of form and number are imperfect, and as a rule ineffective in their results on education, if they are not allied with an equally effective simplification of language teaching. And, since I personally am quite unable to reorganize and extend the method of teaching number and form, not having had the necessary experience in these branches, I have given all my attention to the step which lies between the elementary but systematic training of sensory experience and the training of the faculty of thought.

My only claim to influence on the reorganization of the theory of elementary education lies in the department of language teaching.

51. The natural method of teaching every language is essentially the natural method of developing and training the faculty of speech, and is consequently very closely related to the natural method of developing sensory experience. It constitutes in reality an intermediate stage between the latter and the methods of training thought-powers proper. Language teaching forms, therefore, the necessary intermediate link between the intellectually stimulated sensory activity and the faculty of thought.

The means for developing this intermediate link are therefore necessarily mechanical in their initial stages. This is inevitable, and the faculty of speech is the organ which adjusts the impressions of senso-activity to the necessity for developing the faculty of thought.

52. These three faculties (sense, speech, and thought) are to be considered as the sum-total of all the means for developing the intellect, the origin of which is to be found in the senses and the successive stages of natural development of speech and thought respectively. The similarity between the methods of developing the sensory faculties and the faculty of speech strongly confirm this view. The method for developing sensory experience begins with real objects ; the recognition of their different properties and their different activities constitutes an efficient training for this faculty. Corresponding thereto, the primary method of exercising the faculty of speech begins with substantives ; these are followed by adjectives and verbs, thus forming the link between the method of developing sensory efficiency and the method of training the faculty of thought.

LANGUAGE TEACHING IN RELATION TO LIFE.

The great educational principle, "Life teaches," is applicable to the utmost extent of its claims in respect of the development of sensory experience, and it is equally

true and important when applied to the development of speech. One might say it was doubly true and doubly important when we consider the faculty of speech in its capacity as an intermediary link between the method of developing sensory experience and the methods of developing the faculty of thought.

The Elementary training of speech, if it is given when the child is learning to talk, is dependent upon the laws which govern speech development on the one hand, and on the other upon the infinitely dissimilar circumstances of the children concerned. Learning to speak does not result from language teaching ; language teaching results from being able to speak.

However, it is not the dissimilarity of the forms of speech and idiom which determines the great difference in the manner in which linguistic facility should be developed ; it is the conditions, circumstances, and environment ; together with individual capacity which are the determining factors. In one case these things naturally extend the province of learning to speak, and in another naturally limit it. This applies to whole classes as well as to individual men.

Just as the objects of sensory experience, as well as the methods of employing them for the cultivation of intellectual and practical power, are more limited in the case of the agricultural labourer than for the professional or commercial man, so, on the other hand, these same objects and methods are more limited in the case of the city professional or commercial man than in the case of those who are being educated for an intellectual career, or more particularly than for those whose circumstances raise them above the necessity of attending to the establishment or maintenance of the economic position of their house and connections, with all the attendant restrictions and self-sacrifice which that means.

53. The undeniable significance and reality of these different classes in human society makes it clear that the artificial aids to language teaching both at home and at school must be brought into harmony with the real

foundations of the actual life of men and of the different social classes.

Only in this way can they be recognized as being in conformity to Nature, and as being conducive to the actual well-being of the human race.

The methods employed in training the faculty of speech must, therefore, as a general rule, be very differently organized in each of these classes and ranks. They must in each case satisfy the requirements of the position, but in no case must they degenerate into an obstacle to well-being and to tranquillity.

They must always be associated with the objects which are available for training in sensory experience, and with the things which are essential for the cultivation of moral, intellectual, and practical power. If language teaching is in harmony with them, its influence cannot fail to be good.

54. The child of the soil and the whole class of landless agricultural labourers must learn in their language lessons to express themselves accurately about everything which has to do with their calling, their duty, and their environment ; they must also be able to express themselves spontaneously concerning what is elevating or edifying in their religion with simplicity, sincerity, and fervour. The heartfelt language of prayer should be acquired in the dialect of the lowliest huts. In the happy spirit which is characteristic of their age, children's command of speech must be equal to the needs of their emotional life, just as it should enable them to take full advantage of their surroundings and circumstances. But laborious toil is their lot in life, and their language lessons must not set up interests which would undermine the bases of their happiness and well-being. For this reason it is important that men should not be led by their lessons into the habit of idle chatter. They should learn to speak only after deliberation ; the association of speech with thought should be absolute.

The tendency to chatter which an unpsychological method of speech training may easily produce is extremely injurious, and particularly so for those who must earn

their bread by the sweat of their brow. Education should enable men to follow their particular calling with godliness and honour. We of the present generation call ourselves cultured, but do we take pains to insure that time is not lost on useless accomplishments which should be given to the serious acquisition of what is immediately necessary?

55. Of course, the artisan and professional class, including the landed proprietor, who belongs to this class by reason of his estates and his industrial interests, needs a more extensive linguistic training ; but this, too, must be based upon the realities of actual life.

The fundamental bases of citizen honour and comfort, and of the modest rectitude of the artisan, commercial, and professional class, used to find admirable expression in the superior linguistic training they received in the ordinary way of their lives—the books they read, for example—as compared with the advantages which the rural population as a whole enjoy.

The Church hymnal, and, in part also, the songs that belonged to their trade guilds and corporate life, their workshop rhymes, etc., were a genuine testimony to the development of a language faculty which was in harmony with their lives, and stirred the deep places of their souls without disturbing their social content. So with them we must return to the natural principles of former times. At present we give them a large vocabulary relating to things which are either useless or which have no bearing upon their general welfare, whereas in respect of the real requirements for their moral, domestic, and civic welfare, we give in general a vocabulary that is already too limited, and is growing more so every day. Even since my childhood we have grown conspicuously less careful in this matter.

The burgher class require a burgher language, based upon the realities of their actual life and calculated to stimulate burgher interests. This we do not provide, because—at any rate, in many of our towns—there is no such thing as burgher life, and as long as this is so, there can be no burgher language.

56. The burgher class requires the language neither of the *bon ton* nor of the different kinds of the *mauvais genre du ton*. They have no connection with the realities of the genuine burgher life ; indeed, they are directly opposed to the public and private welfare of this class. I will not discuss the language training which is acquired by the burgher class through the general frequenting of the municipal promenades, the theatres, and the casino, nor what is gained by reading-circles and other such public facilities for language teaching.

57. The professional and higher classes gain just as little help from the modern spirit as the burgher and agricultural classes.

It seems as if we thought that the higher classes must learn to think and to live by being able to speak, and not that it is life which compels them to learn to speak and to think. Thus it comes about that the training of the power to deal with real situations, which is the natural basis of speaking, thinking, and living, is as good as lost. The essential motive for the practical training of the powers of sense, of speech, and of thought, has disappeared.

The consequent gaps in the training of individuals are great and of serious moment. Of what use is an excess of the power of application when the powers to be applied are themselves lacking ? Faculties untrained, badly trained, or unnaturally trained, from the point of view of their influence, are even worse than complete absence of faculty.

I must not put too much confidence in this idea of mine, but I would urge the point of view upon the upper classes for their serious deliberation. Their dignity, welfare, and independence, and the welfare of all the dependent classes, are bound up with the question.

58. The necessity for extending, strengthening, and quickening the capacity for culture among the upper classes is really just as urgent as that of making the knowledge and linguistic powers of the lower classes harmonize with their actual needs. To endow them extravagantly with knowledge which is not only superfluous and unproduc-

tive, but even injurious and disadvantageous, is surely mistaken, especially when it goes with very slight attention to the cultivation of practical ability, to say nothing of the increasingly superficial habit of thought and judgment which is engendered.

How A CHILD LEARNS TO SPEAK.

59. To return to the question of the natural method of developing the faculty of speech. *How does the child learn to speak, and how is it prepared beforehand therefor?* From its birth the child is just as observant of the tones which fall on its ear as of the objects which are brought to its consciousness by the sense of sight or by any other of its senses. The training of those organs by which the objects of his sensory environment are brought into consciousness is closely bound up with the training of the organs of speech.

The child at an early age feels within him the power of being able to reproduce the sounds which he hears, and this power becomes more active, like every other human faculty, by the spontaneous impulse to put it to use. By use the speech organs are actually, though imperceptibly, strengthened from day to day.

Crying, which the child does not need to learn, is in its varied articulations the first utterance of the innate faculty of speech. Next come sounds which have no connection with the articulations of human speech, but which possess a great similarity to the sounds of various animals. They proceed from the pressure of organs which are trying to develop in a purely instinctive fashion, and they have no connection with the human sounds uttered by those around them. It is only after several months that these sounds gradually begin to have a perceptible connection with the sounds of the vowels and consonants contained in our words, and to approximate to the sounds of some syllables and words which have been often spoken in their presence. The child now begins to imitate the easiest sounds which his mother says to him.

Learning to speak becomes daily easier and more pleasant to him, and is always associated in its progress with the cultivation of his sensory powers, exercised as they are in the circle of his home life and surroundings. /

RELATION OF WORDS TO THINGS.

Thus we see that, as regards the faculty of speech, it is life itself which really trains the human race and makes for progress. All the means which life affords for the development of culture must be utilized in order that advance may be uniform and harmonious. The training of the emotions, the training of the intellect, artistic and technical training, must develop in Nature's order if there is to be sound progress in language training. If each of these is regarded as a separate unit, it means a departure from the natural principle ; it means the substitution of the artificial devices for true and genuine means of developing our faculties. We make children read before they can speak ; we attempt to make them read by means of books ; we prevent them forcibly from becoming familiar with actual objects—the natural basis of speech—and in the most irrational way we make the lifeless alphabet the starting-point of their sensory experience instead of a spirited firsthand acquaintance with Nature herself. Man must be able to speak correctly and with assurance about many things before he is sufficiently mature to read any book with intelligence. But in these days the appearance of skill is more sought after than skill itself, and all genuine means for cultivating the faculties are rendered worthless by the ever-increasing belief in spurious methods of development. If I consider now the method of learning to speak as it actually takes place (and this is the essential basis of language training), I see that the infant child hears from those around him a large number of verbal sounds, the meaning of which is, at first quite unintelligible to him. Many of these, by frequent repetition, affect his sense of hearing ; they become familiar to him, and he can imitate them skilfully

without in the least comprehending them or guessing at their meaning. This premature, mysterious knowledge which the ear acquires, and this skill of the speech organs in repetition, is an essential preparatory stage for the real cultivation of the faculty of speech.

By anticipating the idea of an object through familiarity with the word which denotes it, the idea becomes indelibly impressed upon the child's mind from the moment when the object itself is associated by observation with the name. Consequently, it is of great advantage in language teaching, if the child has always been accustomed to hear conversation on various topics, particularly on those which concern his immediate neighbourhood and his own home. Listening to conversation has an influence upon the development of speech in all its aspects. In this way the child not only becomes familiar with an extensive vocabulary almost without being conscious that he is learning anything, he also picks up declensions and conjugations. That is of itself no small matter. However, when I leave the question of the natural laws which govern the mechanical development of language, and ask, How does Nature develop the deeper spiritual aspect of language ? I find that linguistic training stands in most intimate relations with the natural development of experience, and proceeds step by step in uniformity with it. At first every object is perceived as an individual unit, and the process of analyzing the various parts of objects and regarding them individually is very slow. The varying conditions of time and circumstances affect the child's senses casually and disconnectedly before they are brought into clear consciousness comprehensively and connectedly. If Nature is given a free hand in the development of language, these are the lines which she follows. Objects are named without reference to their constituent parts or to their various qualities. Gradually and with the slow lapse of time a stage is reached at which these constituent parts are considered in detail ; they also are named, and finally the child is able to express himself with precision and accuracy

about those qualities which vary with time and circumstances. The Elementary system of education and all methods based upon it, provide that language teaching shall be wholly in conformity with Nature's plan of developing the child's capacities. It ceases at once to be Elementary if it deviates in the slightest from these principles. A child brought up on this method must not chatter before it has knowledge, nor talk about a thing of which it has no first-hand experience. Progress (both intensive and extensive) in linguistic training, if it is to be genuine, must follow this course, and only on this basis can it form the necessary link between experience and thought.

60. The art of language teaching provides the intermediate link between experience and thought, both of which are in process of development. The art of cultivating the first precedes that of cultivating the second. The methods of developing the faculty of thought are deprived of their natural foundations if a rational and comprehensive cultivation of experience has not preceded them. . . .

62. It is manifest that the pupil whom we are bringing up on a natural method must be able as a result of his linguistic training to express himself concerning the sense-impressions made by his surroundings and circumstances with the same degree of precision as the impressions have made on him. Unless the student has reached this stage in learning a language, there is a gap between his experience and his thinking which can only be remedied by the development of his linguistic powers.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

63. Such is the problem of language teaching as viewed by psychology. The solution of this problem enables us to deal with another—that of teaching foreign languages. Is there a universal method for such teaching? Everything depends upon the recognition of the principle that experience leads to thought through language—first ex-

perience, then language, and then thought. The natural course in the development of the mother-tongue must be kept in mind. . . .

65. The method by which the child learns his mother-tongue is the prototype for all language teaching. The natural course is to proceed from the mother-tongue to the living, and then to the dead languages, because the first-hand knowledge of things which a child must acquire by learning a living language is more closely related to his actual life than that which must be first of all made clear and comprehensible to him if he is to have a real understanding of the dead language.

In all cases, however, the principles underlying this universal method of understanding and speaking a foreign language must be aided by mechanical and psychological teaching devices. We must utilize to the full all that the experience of ages has taught us in respect of such devices, knitting this on to what we know of Nature's own procedure. What Nature left to herself hindered by the undeveloped senses and organs of the infant child, slowly, uncertainly, and imperfectly achieves, the teacher arranges in sequences of teaching devices which are based upon the natural way of acquiring a language. Mere systematization gives it a power to which Nature alone could not possibly attain. This is, of course, only true if the devices are psychologically sound.

The fuller recognition of the natural method of learning the mother-tongue is therefore the true source of all devices for making the acquisition of other languages easy.

GRAMMAR IN CHILD LANGUAGE.

66. We are thus driven back to the careful consideration of how the child learns to talk—that is to say, of the relations between mother and child at home. Here instinct reigns supreme, and when the claims of society do not draw the mother away from her natural position, the relations of mother and child exhibit the natural process

of learning to speak to perfection. But the age has corrupted primitive maternal power, to the consequent damage of all subsequent linguistic work. Child-speech has no relation to experience. The great object of the theory of the Elementary Method is to find how these established errors can be avoided ; above all, it seeks to use to the full all the possibilities of home life, in the first place, by putting a proper instrument into the hands of mothers, and, in the second place, by training the children themselves to impart their newly-acquired skill to their brothers and sisters.

First, the child learns to recognize and name things ; then their qualities and their activities—from the objects, that is to say, he passes to the adjectives, and then to the verbs. He learns these words unsystematically with the flow of time, but, spasmodic though his progress is, the words are always learned in phrases. The context enables the child to grasp the meaning of the words and their relation one to another. Because they convey a meaning, phrases are learned more easily than detached words, though, of course, in the solitary phrase individual words can only be partially understood. At the same time the child is getting command of grammatical changes in such words as undergo them.

The syntactical influence of those parts of speech which are not changed in form—prepositions, conjunctions, etc.—can be impressed upon the child by carefully collected examples, thereby assisting the otherwise slow natural process. This is particularly aimed at in our plan of elementary education.

GRAMMAR IN ACQUIRING NEW LANGUAGES.

Exercises on these and all other parts of speech are given without a word of grammar, though grammar is of course introduced when the children have acquired practical command of the language. Precisely the same principles apply to the learning of a foreign tongue, though current teaching practice has forgotten it. How curious

it is that uncultivated people teach their language in the right way ! A French servant to whom one entrusts a German child for the sake of his French teaches him effectively and quickly by continuous conversation. The child can very soon express himself with ease about the things around him—a result which years of school devices do not achieve, in spite of the logic of their procedure. The servant's method is the natural method—hence its superiority.

67. The position of the man who finds himself in a foreign country where nobody speaks his language also illustrates my point. Necessity compels him to learn the language as he learned his own. He is soaked in its sounds before he knows their meaning, but the meaning and the power come. My own experiments have given further confirmation to my idea, though for a long time we could not apply it to any other language than the mother-tongue.

68. Nevertheless, I believe that it does apply to them, and that it represents the normal type of procedure in acquiring a language. We have worked with German (*the mother-tongue*) and Latin.

LANGUAGE THE MIDDLE TERM BETWEEN SENSORY EXPERIENCE AND THOUGHT.

69. But to leave this subject and go back to the relation between sensory experience and thought. Unless his sense-experience is peculiarly confused, man of his own motion seeks to get clear impressions of the objects amidst which he lives. But clear perceptions do not satisfy him. Again, he endeavours to organize them into a higher order of ideas. By bringing his varied perceptual experiences into relation he seeks to arrive at definite ideas. He compares them with each other, exercises his logic upon them, utilizes them in his judgment. All this is spontaneous on his part, and educators have all along been trying to reduce this spontaneous process to simple rule, and to free it from error. But they have gone as far

astray in regard to it as they have strayed in the more elementary work of organizing sensory experience. Instead of careful practice in analytic comparison, they have taught the rules of logical thinking. This is, of course, to put the cart before the horse. Systematic logic is only useful to those who are already clear thinkers. Its real significance is otherwise lost, no matter how long students play with it. It is a vain show of power, mischievous and deadening in its effects.

70. Exercises in the development of thought power must be brought into line with the methods of life itself. Just as men do not become moral through talking about it, so will they not learn to think except by actual thinking. The Elementary system regards form and number as the simple natural provision for the transition from simple perception to actual thinking. It uses them to that end, and regards them as the proper basis for unfolding and training men's power of abstraction.

It must, however, be clearly understood that our method of teaching number and form is not a series of mechanical exercises and artificial devices for simplifying and abbreviating arithmetic and mensuration. We do not begin to teach number by the multiplication table or other such paradigm. The basis of the work is an appeal to the power of grouping, separating, and comparing sensory objects, and we have no desire to abandon our square of numerical relations for other devices which are purely artificial.¹ We rest everything upon man's native disposition to think. Man must learn to think over the objects presented to his senses, to group, to separate, and to compare them himself. As he does this, the power of counting and measuring comes into being, as it were, spontaneously. Our method lays the utmost stress upon this early work, and refuses to have anything to do with mechanical tricks and abbreviations so much used in elementary and higher practical arithmetic. Before the child can deal properly with the variety of objects that are capable of measurement and counting, he must grasp

¹ These squares are reproduced in G., pp. 195 and 199.

the general principle of quantity and measurement through a series of exercises on abstract forms.

71. To be successful, the devices employed must be in accord with Nature. They must, that is to say, be "elementary"; they must be carefully graduated in series which show no gaps from the barest rudiments to independent reckoning, leading even to simple algebraic and geometric problems.

72. This does not mean that boys of all ranks are to learn algebra and geometry. Different ranks and even different individuals require different degrees of attainment, and very few require advanced mathematical knowledge. It would be a good thing indeed if higher work were only attempted by those who show exceptional power, independent of their rank. Cases of this kind are a special responsibility. Unusual capacity should be given every possible chance, and, above all, it should be rightly guided. But even here the principle that *Life educates* must be recognized. We must be careful not to be out of harmony with the boy's circumstances, either actual or potential. His happiness in life is the first consideration. The loving care which we ask for exceptional children is not out of harmony with this principle, but rather strengthens it, nor is the case of mathematical ability different from ability in any other direction.

73. Mathematical training must be kept in strict relation to the boy's general intellectual progress. Specialization must not be forced upon him; methods must be adapted to his spontaneous activities.

74. Although the impulse to analytic and synthetic thinking lies in the child, it does not follow that we may leave its development to chance. We must guide and stimulate him by methods calculated to give him both knowledge and self-reliance, such as those we have outlined for organizing his sensory experience, and for number and form.

PRACTICAL SKILL.

I pass now to the question of practical skill. Like all other human capacities, the germ lies within the child. It develops into maturity only with exercise. Although it depends on the practical use of sense-organs and limbs, progress is intimately related to mental growth, and all our work in that connection is helpful. The internal and external factors must ever be kept in close relation.

75. . . . Soul, life . . . both constitute the very essence of practical skill, as they do that of sensory*experience. External devices demand organization. We require an elementary gymnastic of the senses and of the limbs. The exercises must be adapted to the special nature of the case—those for the senses upon their physical constitution, those for the limbs upon the laws which govern the acquisition of control.

76. Although, as always, the impulse to activity lies within, the teacher must stimulate and guide it into right channels. If he adopts the "elementary" principle, he will use a graded series of exercises that will quicken and strengthen the ear for hearing, the eye for seeing, and the mouth for correct speech and song. So, too, with the limbs.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENT.

77. The child's own impulses induce free activity, and instruction must not hurry to interfere. It must only make demands for which the child is already prepared. When he *feels*, "I can do that now," then we may ask him to do it. The child must be allowed to take chalk, pencil, charcoal, etc., in his hand, and draw straight and crooked lines all over without attempting to interfere and correct. Only when the child begins of its own accord to imitate easy words, pleasant sounds, and to take pleasure in the changes and more accurate representation of his random strokes; only when he is stimulated to imitate a greater variety of words and sounds, and to make his strokes more correct and varied, does the thought awaken

in him ? " My dear mother can help me to do this, which I very much want to do, but cannot do properly." *Then* is the time when instruction can be offered to the child in a natural way ; then and then only should it be offered to him. In all departments of practical education the mode of procedure is the same.

78. All "elementary" methods advance from the simplest fundamentals by means of continuous and uninterrupted steps to the higher branches of knowledge. Inner harmony is preserved alike in its intensive and in its extensive progression.

79. The methods of training in any practical art are based in part on the sensory needs of primitive life, and in part on the character of the art itself. The higher achievements of architecture began with the decoration of the primitive man's hut. Had man not needed protection against wind and weather, he would have built no palaces. Had we not felt the desire to get as quickly as possible from one shore to another, there would have been no naval architecture. Except for such circumstances, the very word *architecture* would hardly have been invented.

80. When our primitive needs were satisfied, the power we had gained in the process was spontaneously applied to the advance of the art itself. This new movement will have a profound effect upon education if teaching devices continue in harmony with historical origins. If, on the other hand, the practical basis of art is forgotten, and attention is given to developing the showy semblance of artistic power, this side of education will lose its usefulness. It will be a source of weakness rather than of strength.

Higher artistic training must be subordinate to training for the actual needs of life. Indeed, on this basis alone can higher training flourish. Artistic power in any case depends primarily on the thorough training of the five senses. That is, of course, essential to sound experience.

INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF PRACTICAL SKILL.

81. On the intellectual side artistic capacity also demands the training of the thought powers, a knowledge of form and number, and efficient linguistic capacity. He who has learned to measure, to count, to draw, on "elementary" lines has got within him the intellectual foundations for his practical skill. It only remains to train the external dexterities necessary to the particular art which he desires to master. This is true both of music and of drawing. . . . The course of training for all mechanical dexterities goes through four stages: the first concerns the correct apprehension of forms; the second, power to reproduce them; the third, delicacy in their representation; and the fourth, freedom and independence in applying them. Experience has shown us that this is true of writing, drawing, singing, and piano-playing. . . .

PRACTICAL SKILL AND LIFE.

82. The child who has grasped the elements of form and of number also possesses the intellectual foundation that is necessary for the performance of his duties at home and in his profession. The principle, *Life educates* is, however, less applicable to the richer classes than to the poorer. The latter practise from their cradle those mechanical devices which are needed in life. The children of artisans are always in intimate contact with their father's work, and derive enormous stimulus from it. They take their part in it, and master much of its detail. But in the case of the wealthier classes no such opportunities offer. Their children say: "We are rich; we do not need these things." The idea that they can help to relieve the burden of life for their parents, and all the happy consequences associated with such an idea, never occurs to them. The same is true, alas! of the children of those who are content to live in dependent admiration of their richer neighbours. . . .

84-90. We need to supply this gap in the education of the children of the wealthy, and to save them from the

social evils of the day, but the same principles apply to this problem as to that of the education of the poor.

91. We aim at the restoration of parental interest and parental power in all classes. In my childhood I used to hear that the boy who was brought up from early youth to pray, to think, and to work, was already half educated. Nothing can be truer, and this is precisely the object of the "elementary" education we have in mind. It is a psychological instrument for assisting Nature in the unfolding of our physical, intellectual, and moral powers. An intelligent visitor who had been watching a lesson in number remarked : "*C'est un pouvoir, ce n'est pas un savoir.*" His comment exactly and clearly expressed the position and the difference between the "elementary" method and all others.

92. The method applies to the whole range of our knowledge and of our dexterities. Each branch of knowledge and each dexterity has its special character, which differs from that of all the others. The teacher in any one of these dexterities must, of course, have the special knowledge and special power that this implies. He must not only have complete acquaintance with the "elementary" training of our capacities, but also with the special branch of knowledge or of art to which he proposes to introduce his pupils. This is not so difficult as it seems, because when the teacher realizes the absolute necessity of carefully grading his particular branch of science for teaching purposes, he will also recognize that in principle the Elementary Method is the same as this necessary preliminary to the teaching of his subject. So, too, must he recognize the principle that *Life educates*, in accordance with which the aim and extent of his scientific teaching must be determined. . . .

94, 95. It is only when due regard is paid to the needs and circumstances of the various classes of society that we may safely consider our educational schemes as contributing wisely to national culture. If care is taken in this regard, its influence on the higher classes especially, and on all those whose vocation calls for a higher scientific

education, will be good, on the one hand giving them full and adequate training for their profession, and on the other putting them in a position to pursue and apply in their own way their special studies.

96. Its influence on the artisan and the labouring classes would be equally happy. If it were adopted as a national system, it would on the one hand cool the ambition of those who, whilst excellently fitted for their particular station, are quite unsuited for any higher position, and on the other it would make the way easy for the specially gifted to use their powers, in their own circle, to their own and to the common advantage.

SENSORY EXPERIENCE IN RELATION TO HIGHER WORK AND NATURAL HISTORY.

97. Consider the elementary exercises in sense experience, and the transition to thought proper through exercises in language. The sensory foundations being adequate and sound, we lead our pupils by progressive steps to definite ideas. We introduce them to abstract thinking in our lessons on number and form, and gradually pave the way to the scientific point of view. Consider Natural History as a case in point. However restricted a child's experience, he is sure to be familiar with half a dozen mammals, as many birds, fishes, insects, amphibians and worms. If he has learned to know them from his cradle up in all their essentials, and if he has learned to express himself about them clearly as the "elementary" method would teach him, such a child has obtained a sound and natural introduction to the point of view of the zoologist, ornithologist, etc. If circumstances are favourable, he can take up such a study with considerable chance of success. So it is with any other science. . . . Indeed, if the elementary method does not mean this, it is useless. Its value depends partly on ourselves and partly upon the environment, which is never entirely uneducative. Any child who has learned to look carefully at water at rest and in motion, or in its various forms—dew, rain,

mist, steam, hail, snow, etc.—and then again has learned to observe its various effects on other bodies, and can express himself with clearness concerning them, has already got the foundations of the physicist's way of looking at things. Similarly, the boy who is familiar with such phenomena as the solution of salt and sugar, and its recovery by evaporation and crystallization, fermentation, the conversion of marble into chalk, and of flint into glass, is as well prepared for the scientific investigation of these things as the country lad who knows thoroughly a few cottages, and can describe them in detail, is ready as it were to learn how to build them. And if such a lad has ability, he needs only the "elementary" training in form and number to take up the study of building in a much wider way.

98. When a child is brought up in this way from the cradle, it is impossible to say how far the careful training of his sensory abilities may carry him, especially if he has adequate training in the abstract treatment of his experiences. Where capacity is great, method is easy of application, and is very far-reaching.

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

99. But this advanced work has nothing to do with the confused verbal teaching which passes current nowadays. We hold fast to the principle *Life educates*. Our appeal is always to the child's whole nature. Even when subjects are concerned which are not really suited to children, the method makes an appeal to good sense, and makes as much as possible out of the situation. To take Geography and History as examples, though I do not recognize either as proper subjects in an elementary curriculum. If a child has to learn geography, the method provides a simple course of exercises in the names of mountains, rivers, and towns, and by making use of the ordinary geographical apparatus, he is taught through "artificial experience" the relative position of these places.

100. Both types of exercise are suited to children. Memory and sensory activity are especially strong in childhood. I should make every use of the neighbourhood for teaching geographical position and relations ; I should, in the first reading lesson, practise my pupil in reading and pronouncing the names of places of a given neighbourhood—for example, a river basin ; I should divide this into middle, upper, and lower districts, and drill the children in the names and positions of the most important places. In a second course they would learn the positions of smaller places in relation to the first. . . . The children would learn that such and such a place is so many miles in such a direction from so and so.

101, 102. This course would form a suitable introduction to the scientific study of geography, the nomenclature of which it would provide. It is, however, nothing but the materials for a house which is to be built later.

103. As to history, we can do nothing more. If we would not for ever spoil a child's chances of understanding history, we must not attempt to teach it to him as such in his early years. It is absolute nonsense to wish to make people acquainted with the spirit of an age far removed from that in which they live, long before they have any real acquaintance with the actual world about them. We must not attempt more than to provide them with such names of persons and places as will be useful.

104. Thus I regard such work as is possible with Geography and History as little more than mechanical exercises in speech, though I have already said that I regard this kind of exercise as most important.

105, 106. One of the great advantages of learning a new language is the opportunity it gives for revising and renewing our knowledge. Much of that which we learnt in relation to the development of the mother-tongue has faded, and now is the chance of bringing it back to life.¹ All that is wanted is a textbook conforming to the normal

¹ Pestalozzi appears to have in his mind the type of exercise to be found in the language primers of Comenius—the *Orbis Pictus*, the *Janua Linguarum Reserata*, etc. He refers specifically to Latin.

type. But I must proceed to the consideration of the idea of elementary education as a whole, and bring together what I have said of isolated aspects.

HUMAN NATURE AS A WHOLE MUST BE EDUCATED.

107. Although I have not said so, the various devices for developing our sensory powers, our powers of speech and thought, and our practical experience—all are calculated to further the satisfaction of the needs of human nature as a whole. But in their isolation the cultivation of these faculties is not enough. There is always the danger of over-emphasis in one direction or another, which brings about internal disharmony. We cannot, however, answer the question what it is that makes education and instruction wholly natural until we have settled what is the specific character of human nature. We are thus carried back to the problem discussed in our first paragraphs. There we found it to consist in those qualities which man has over and above those which he shares with other animals. The cow has a soul and a life of its own, but it is not human. . . . The dog has a better nose, the eagle has a better eye, than man; not only so, but they make better use of these organs. We cannot expect to approach their wonderful skill, which, great as it is, is not human. It only implies the use of instinctive power. The difference between it and man's capacity for thought and action, however humble, is clear. It is, indeed, so striking that when I hear the words, "Thou hast made us a little lower than the angels," I remember what is equally true: "Thou hast exalted us infinitely above all flesh and blood that wanders upon the earth; Thou hast made us infinitely higher than the beasts of the field." . . . Human thought is in no way related to our fleshly organization. It is the Divine instrument which makes the body the servant of the mind; only then is it truly human, and in absolute opposition to the thought-powers of the lower animals. In order to grasp fully the significance of what we mean by "according to

Nature," we must keep in mind that all our work is designed to affect the whole nature of man in which the various powers find unity. It depends upon the harmony of our powers—a harmony which, when established, will affect our whole active life. . . .

111. Everything depends upon the successful establishment of the dispositions to love and faith.¹ . . .

DIFFERENT EDUCATION NEEDED BY DIFFERENT CLASSES.

119. Whilst the "elementary idea" insists upon the importance of considering human nature as a whole, it does not forget the necessity of dealing with the question in its due relation to the differences of position which exist among men. Harmony between education and home circumstances is one of its first principles. The child is taught to love all that is lovable in its own surroundings. He learns to think about the things which are provocative of thought; he learns to do, to wish, hope, believe, and strive in relation to the actualities of his life. His powers develop in harmony with his life's needs. His father's home, his father's social position, etc., are dear to him, and he shares the burden of them willingly. He does not feel the restrictions placed upon him; they have become habits. We do not make a dreamer of him—one who has lost all sense of reality, and is unfit for the duties of his station. However humble these may be, the boy is made a happy instrument for good within them.

120, 121. We need above all things an educational system which will take these differences into account. It will necessitate different provision for different classes. The citizen of the towns does not of course need a soldier foundation in the elements than a countryman, but it is essential that different methods of developing his powers should be used, and different forms of application should be encouraged. If the countryman's education is so put

¹ Pestalozzi repeats in greater detail what he has already said in the earlier paragraphs. Compare also the *Views and Experiences for the Moral Ideal* (Letter III.).

him into the position of not needing to call in a carpenter for every board that needs planing, or to summon a smith every time he wants to drive a nail into the wall, so must the townsman's special needs be provided for. He must acquire a sound knowledge of the materials which are used in local industries, and receive such a mathematical and æsthetic training as will bring out any capacity for invention.

122. The case of children of the higher classes is quite different. They need nothing of the kind, nor does their environment offer the opportunity for such training. They will never have to worry about their means of livelihood. Intellectual and emotional life in their case is not to be stimulated through manual work. It should rather be the other way about—intellect and heart should stimulate the hand.

123. This point of view brings out the differences which should mark the educational arrangements of the various classes if the order of Nature is to be followed in the development of their powers, their knowledge, and their dexterities. . . . The happiness of the wage-earning classes depends entirely upon their practical capacity. Extensive knowledge has little to offer them. The higher classes need more knowledge, but only such as is solidly grounded in actual experience. Their practical capacity itself depends upon the wider acquaintance with things and their treatment, although the actual handling of them will fall to other people. The scientific classes need a deeper and wider training in methods of investigation.

124. Except in the case of those who are to be educated for special scientific work, Nature herself provides the very environment necessary for the educational needs of each of these classes. . . .

PARENTS OR TUTORS AS EDUCATORS.

135. Whilst assuming and providing for this, I am fully aware that I shall be mocked at for imagining that when my theory of elementary education is realized those

parents who are not compelled to do so will seriously give themselves up to their children's education. I do believe that this will happen in most cases, and I know that it is the habit of most parents in this class—if, indeed, it is not a matter of principle with them—to confess quite frankly that they understood nothing about education. They say they are obliged to entrust their children to paid teachers, and that they grudge neither the time nor the money spent upon the search for suitable persons. They do this apparently with great generosity, and often with unexpected success. The discovery of a really good teacher is as great a piece of luck as the winning of the first prize in a lottery. Although, as the proverb says, "A blind cow may find a horseshoe," such a piece of luck does not happen often, and many people who wish to secure a first-rate teacher by paying a large salary may get just as incompetent a person as if they had chosen the cheapest from motives of meanness. Such a misfortune often does happen to people of high rank and great wealth. That it is a very grave misfortune is evident from the number of men who have paid a heavy price for our erroneous and detrimental system of education, and bewail the consequences of their mistake. There are, however, brighter days in store. The time may come when noble men of every station, and more particularly of the highest, after serious reflection upon the qualities which are essential in a teacher, will arrive at sounder conclusions upon the subject. Animated by a parental zeal for Elementary education, they may then do their part in helping to substitute a better mode of procedure than that which comes from our present ignorance.

[The essay closes with a further detailed examination of the principle of unity and harmony, which are so easily lost sight of in the effort to train this or that special capacity.]

INDEX

ABC books, 11, 85, 87
ABC of moral feelings, 149
ABC of observation, 119, 126
ABC of practical capacity, 138, 141
Address of 1818, 12, 155
Aesthetic training, 229
Affection in early education, 215
Agriculture and education, 201
Aim of education, 17, 97, 130, 141, 158, 196, 218, 223, 259 f., 266
Alphabet, 112
Ambition, 263
Analogy, use of, 118
Analytic method, 258
Anschauungen, innere, 12
Anschauungs-Prinzip, 9, 10, 12
Appliances in education, 283
Apprenticeship, 73
A priori assumptions, 123
Arithmetic, 98, 256-257; — mental, 257
Art, practical basis of, 313
Art training, 119, 280, 313 f.
Attention, 124, 248
Authority, maternal, 216
Basedow, 1, 8, 9, 10
Bell, 13
Bergson, H., 8
Biber, 13, 210
Bohemians, 2
Book for Mothers, 207
Boyd, W., 6
Burgdorf, 6, 9, 10, 85, 86, 96, 278
Buss, 9
Campe, 9
Capacity, innate, 161
Catechetical method, 94-96
Central principle in teaching, 98
Character *v.* knowledge, 243
Charles V., 259
Child and environment, 88
Child and religion, 180-181
Child and teacher, 91
Child his own educator, 249
Child of five, 89
Child of three, 88
Childhood, apprenticeship, manhood, 73-75
Children as teachers, 126, 152, 209, 289
Children, imitative powers of, 232
Children's innocence, 73
Children's thoughts, 221, 249 f.; — attitudes towards persons, 222; — attitudes towards Nature, 171; — attitudes towards society, 168; — collections, 98
Child's-need of guidance, 135
Child's questions, 220
Child's selfishness, 214
Christopher and Elizabeth, 41 f., 54
Citizenship means mutilation, 71
Civic education, 26-32
Clear ideas, 88, 98, 108, 116, 126, 127, 130, 293
Coercion in education, 19-20, 98
Concienus, 1, 2, 9, 10
Compromise, 90
Concrete, meaning of, 10
Conscience, 144 f.
Considerations on Government of Poland, 6
Constancy, 217
Contentment, 22
Continuity, uninterrupted, 101, 135, 149, 283, 311, 313
Curiosity, 220

Dead languages, 247, 257, 296 f., 306

Definite ideas, 103, 107, 108, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135, 141

Definitions, 129, 131, 132, 141

Description (clear ideas), 98, 115, 131-132

Desires, 215

Development, 100, 143 f., 146, 150 f., 162, 218

Development of man and tree compared, 189

Different classes, different educational needs, 315, 320

Distinct ideas, 108

Divine in man, 134, 137, 191, 205, 268, 285, 287, 319

Divine in parent, 166; — in child, 165

Domestic education, 238

Drawing, 107, 118, 119, 120 f., 232 f.

Eckstein, Dr., 3

Education according to Nature, 18, 267-268

Education, a moral affair, 192

Education and citizenship, 26 f.; — and class, 299 f.; — and development, 195; — and happiness, 261; — and liberty, 225; — and life, 4, 42 f., 140, 294-295, 300, 311, 320; — and ruling classes, 18, 23; — and welfare, 269; — and social efficiency, 260

Education, *general*, 17; — popular indifference to, 187; — a scionee, 198; — the right of all, 223-224, 262; — need of, 276-277

Educational needs, 206 f.

Educator and gardener, 195

Efficiency, 136, 141

Effort in education, 117, 253

Egyptians, 119

Elementar-bildung, 85

Elementary education, 276 f., 277

Elementary means, 110, 117, 125, 255 f.

Elementary method, 11, 210, 267, 268, 269, 271, 274, 276, 277, 278, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 294, 299, 306, 308, 313, 315; — a chimera? 285 f.

Elementary subjects (three R's), 111, 112

Emile, 5, 6

Employers, duties of, 201

Encyclopædia (1755), 6

England, 13

Enquiries and Researches, 8, 12, 54-83

Environment and development, 158, 160 f., 174, 192

Environment and individual, 20 f., 58, 105, 117

Environment and training, 192

Environment of poor, 197

Ephemerides, 15

Esprit de corps, 67, 137, 282

Etruscans, 119

Evening Hours of a Hermit, 8, 15-29, 54

Exercise and development, 18 f., 195 f., 217, 251, 269 f.

Experience and linguistic development, 93, 275; — begins at home, 108; — the beginning of knowledge, 98, 118, 124; — lessons of, 172; — with things, 93

Experiment, 97, 101 (v. Research)

Experimental schools, 209

Expression and impression, 276

Expression, linguistic, 114 f., 123, 300

Eye and ear training, 228

Faculty, application of, 295; — development of, 270, 284, 291; — training of, 315

Faith and love, 143 f., 189, 271, 273, 282, 289

Family life, 23, 161 f., 163, 166

Fear in education, 253, 263

Feelings the basis of morality, 149, 150, 160

Fellenberg, 55

Fichte, 54, 55

Fischer, 96

Foreign languages, 247, 257, 276, 296 f., 306

Form and number, 297
 Form, an educational, 107, 112
 Form (spatial), 97, 117 f.
 Fractional man, 67
 France, 69
 Francke, 1, 3
 Freedom, 71 ; — loss of, 66
 Free-will, 72, 136, 190-194, 198
 French Revolution, 55
 Fröbel, 11, 13, 14

Geography, 235-236, 317
 Geometry, 235, 258
 Germany, 227, 232
 Gesner, J. M., 2
 Gessner, 85, 100, 116, 119
 God, how idea of, begins, 142, 145, 151
 Government and people, 68
 Graduation, 101, 128, 132, 135, 225, 283, 311, 312
 Grammar, 115 f., 128 f., 296, 307, 308
 Gravelotte, 13
Great Didactic, 2
 Greaves, J. P., 211
 Growth, training, and education, 192
 Gymnastics, 225, 279, 312 ; — remedial, 226 ; — and moral training, 227

Habit of thinking, 251
 Halle, Francke's Institute in, 3
 Harmonious development, 12, 159, 161, 209, 281, 313, 319
 Harmony of character, 157-158, 159
 Helplessness of children, 168 ; — of infants, 212
 Heart, education of, 22
 Herbart, 13, 14
 History, 318
 Hofwyl, 55
 Home education, 10 f., 22 f., 42 f., 196, 204 f., 206 f., 238 f., 280, 289, 291
 Home, the fundamental reality, 10
 Home v. school, 42 f.
 Homer, 9
How Gertrude Teaches her Children, 7, 11, 32, 85 f., 155

Hübner, 94
 Human and animal nature, 212, 287
 Human morality relative, 76
 Human nature, threefold aspect of, 60, 80
 Humanity, essential nature of, 15 f., 133, 268, 319
 Hunziker, 55, 155

Ideals in life, 59
 Imitation, 118, 232, 233, 276
 Inattention, 253
 Independence, growth of, 146, 163, 169 f., 220 f.
 Individual and State, 75, 80
 Individuality in teaching, 286
 Indulgence, 214, 273
 Industrial education, 7, 46 f.
 Inertia v. curiosity, 104
 Infant, spiritual nature of, 213
 Innate ideas, 251
 Inner and outer, 11, 128, 163, 207
 Instinct and morality, 213
 Instinct in infancy, 212-213
 Instruction and development, 87, 107, 208 ; — beginnings of, 87
 Intellect and action, 161 ; — and practical capacity, 279
 Intellectual education, 20-21, 290, 297 ; — growth, 277 ; — life, beginnings of, 274
 Interest, 171, 251, 252 f., 270
 Investigation, 87, 88, 90, 106-107 (v. Research)

Ja oder Nein, 54, 55
 Judgment, 99, 101 (v. Thought)
 Judgment (spatial), 120

Kratinge, 2
 Knowledge, acquisition of, 208 ; — and language, 292 f. ; — and practical capacity, 136 ; — begins at home, 19, 102 ; — elements of, 106
 Knowledge or character (?), 243 ; — organization of, 101
 Krüsi, 94, 95, 97

Lancaster, 13
 Landowners, 201

Language, 259 f.; — and knowledge, 275; — (mother-tongue), 112 f., 126 f.; — relation to perception and thought, 113, 306, 309; — foreign, 247, 257, 278, 296 f., 306; — teaching, 297-298

Law and morality, 79

Law, origin of, 63

Law, various systems of, 60

Learning, beginnings of, 86, 132

Legislation on Child Murder, 54

Legislative art, 78-79

Lenzburg Address, 267

Leonard and Gertrude, 6, 32 f., 41, 45 f., 54, 85, 196

Leser, 14

Life and language, 299, 300 f.; — and practical training, 314

Life and work of Pestalozzi (G.), 14

Life educates, 1, 12, 14, 140, 168 f., 172 f., 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 298, 311, 314, 315

Linguistic development in individual, 275, 303, 308; — in race, 127

Logical processes, 277 f., 309 f.

Louis XVI., 69

Love, the central moral feeling, 161

Luther, 231

Lutherans, 3

Luxury of wealthy, 7

Man as moral being, 63, 65, 72 f.

Man as social being, 22-23

Man himself, the concern of education, 16 f.

Man in the mass, 137, 283

Maternal love, 214

Mathematical training, 311

Mayo, 13, 14

Measurement (spatial judgment), 118, 119

"Mechanical process" in education, 11

Memory, 220, 246, 318

Method in teaching, one only, 130

Modelling, 235

Moltke, 13

Moral development, 72 f., 146, 150-151, 222

Moral education, 142 f., 289 (v. Mother)

Moral feelings, 143 f., 162

Moral ideal, 155-156, 159-160

Moral stimuli, 274 f.

Moral training, 141

Morality an individual matter, 73, 77, 80

Morality and instincts, 77

Morality and law, 68

Morality, social aspect of, 152 f.

Morf, 8

Mother in education, 33 f., 42 f., 48 f., 124, 143 f., 150, 179 f., 218, 240 f., 272, 276, 308

Mother's book, 11, 125, 126, 128, 135

Mother's empirical knowledge, 250

Mother's responsibility, 214 f., 238 f.

Mothers, education of, 236-239

Mother-tongue, 259 (v. Language)

Motive, selfish or social, 263 f.

Music, 230 f.; — and morals, 231

Nageli, 230

National education, 181, 184, 287

National songs, 230

Natorp, 14

Natural history, 316-317

Natural man, 5

Natural man described, 61 f.

Natural man spoiled, 62

Natural nearness, law of, 77-79

Natural rights, 63-64

Nature and type, 133

Nature as educator, 124, 128, 170

Nature as guide, 5, 133, 136

Nature, blindness of, 132, 133-134, 147

Nature cannot be stifled, 91

Nature v. nurture, 270 f., 274 f., 279 f.

Need, stimulus of, 293, 309, 312, 313

Neglect of children, 214, 216, 272 f.

Neuhof, 6, 12, 17, 86

Novelty, charm of, 251

Number, 125, 126

Number and form, 114, 255, 310

Number, form, and language, 109, 110, 111, 209, 278

Nurture and linguistic development, 275
 Nurture and morality, 277
 Nurture and practical development, 279

Obedience, 144, 145 f.
 Object teaching, 248 (v. Things)
 Observation, 87, 99, 119, 124, 134, 220, 234, 294, 310 f. (v. Experience, Things, etc.)
 One-sidedness, 12, 19, 157 f., 268 f., 281 f.
Orbis Pictus, 2

Parallel of child and race, 127, 129
 Parental joys, 165, 206; — neglect, 148, 175 f.; — weakness, 178 f.
 Parents and education, 3, 162, 164, 206 f., 322
 Parents, training of, 209
 Perfection, law of, 152
 Pestalozzi and Basedow, 8; — and Comenius, 2; — and Francke, 3; — and Rousseau, 5-6
 Pestalozzi as psychologist, 1, 8
 Pestalozzian influence, 13
 Pestalozzi's verbalism, 1, 11, 92
 Philanthropic futility, 199, 203
 Philanthropinists, 8
 Physical Distance, law of, 102, 108
 Physical education, 209, 225 f., 280
 Physical nature, 133
 Pictures, 248
 Poor, education of, 2, 4, 7, 197, 198 f., 202 f.; — moral depravity of, 7, 197
 Popular education, 139, 198
 Potential capacity, 91, 118, 193, 201, 226
 Practical capacity, 135 f., 279, 280, 312, 314
 Primitive man, 5, 66, 70, 72, 78; — in transition, 57, 66, 69, 77
 Progress, nature of, 285-286
 Property, 81
 Prophecy of success, 197
 Prussia, 13, 232

Psychological analyses, 9
 Psychological moment, 312
 Punishment, 3, 254
 Purposefulness, 117, 158

Questions and questioning, 220, 252, 256

Racial order in linguistic development, 126-127, 129
 Reading, 52, 87, 106, 294, 304
 Realities, 10, 17, 20, 22, 42 f. (v. Things, Experience, etc.)
Realschule, 4
 Religion, 205
 Religion and citizenship, 27 f.; — and justice, 31; — and morality, 78; — and national welfare, 30 f.; — and State, 81-82
 Religion of primitive man, 81
 Religion, parental, 179
 Religious education, 24-26, 33 f.
Report to Parents, 13
 Repose in infancy, 271 f.
 Repose, wisdom's, 21
 Research, 105, 123, 135, 196, 198 f., 208, 210, 238, 277
 Response to stimuli, 104
 Results of teaching, 102
 Rewards and punishments, 247
 Rich and poor, 199 f., 314 f., 320 f.
 Right to be educated, 115 (v. Education)
 Rousseau, 1, 5, 6, 55
 Ruling classes, education of, 23
 Rural education, 202 f.

Sansculottism, 57
 School, a good, 46 f.
 School and education, 239; — and home, 209, 292; — and locality, 46 f.; — and morals, 290; — and society, 202
 School, artificialities of, 19
 School books, 90, 93, 107, 116
 School for mothers, 244
 School understanding, 44
 Schoolmaster's calling, 183 f.; — fallacies, 101; — qualities, 44, 182
 Schoolmasters, training of, 183

Schools and schoolmasters, 41 *f.*, 46 *f.*, 89
 Science, 316-317
 Science of education, 198
 Seed, development of, 188
 Self-denial, 219
 Self-knowledge, 109
 Semler, 4
 Sense reals, 10
 Sense, speech, thought, 298 *f.*, 309
 Sense-training, 124, 139
 Sensory discrimination, 228
 Sensory experience, 9, 103-104, 107 *f.*, 124, 125, 126, 128, 131, 132, 135, 141
 Service, promptings to, 163, 174
 Seyffarth, 55
 Skill, acquisition of, 136
 Slates, use of, 121
 Social amelioration, 7; — contract, 65, 75; — corruption, 176 *f.*, 194, 199, 204, 205; — efficiency, 260; — environment, 158, 167; — motive, 2, 6, 7, 115; knowledge, 168
 Social man, 65 *f.*, 73, 78, 80
 Social organization and poor, 54
 Social relationships, 167
 Social responsibilities, 170
 Social war, 67
 Society, development of, 56
 Society, problem of, 58-59
 Socratic method, 94-96
 Sounds, learning of, 276
 Specialization, 311
 Speech and thought, 298, 306, 309
 Speech, development of, 294, 296, 303
 Spelling-book, 125, 128
 Spontaneity, 12, 13, 102, 117, 137, 153, 160, 163, 192, 195, 249, 250, 268, 270, 275, 280, 303, 309, 311
 Stanz, 3, 6, 87
 State and education, 6, 13, 23, 27 *f.*, 138, 184
Swansong, 12, 267 *f.*
 Switzerland, 232, 237
 Sympathy, 255, 264
 Talking, 116, 252
 Teacher and gardener, 12 •
 Teachers, training of, 210, 278
 "Teaching through the senses," 9
 Things before words, 88, 129, 258
 Thoroughness, 98, 126, 132, 284
 Thought, habit of, 249 *f.*
 Thought, training of, 220, 251, 298, 310
 Tree, development of, 188 *f.*
 Truth, 19, 60, 246-248
 Unity of man, 190, 268-269
 Verbalism, 19, 42 *f.*, 99, 129, 131, 194, 247
Views and Experiences, 8, 14, 32
 Virtue, 141
 Vocabulary, 93, 97, 112
 Vocational education, 7, 17, 23, 70, 209
 Wiget, 14
 Will, education of, 196
Wochenschrift, 18
 Wolf, F. A., 3
 Women's education, 245
 Word-building, 112
 Words and things, 292 *f.*, 304
 Words as things, 9 *f.*, 92, 113, 116
 Words, meaning of, 116
 Writing, 53, 106, 121, 123, 128
 Yverdun, 3, 6, 9, 10, 13, 155, 191, 211
 Zinzendorf, 54
 Zurioh, 55

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